A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF RHOTICITY IN AMERICAN FILM SPEECH FROM THE 1930s TO THE 1970s

Nancy C. Elliott

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Linguistics,
Indiana University

January 2000

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Stuart Davis

Julie Auger

Doctoral
Committee

Robert Botne

Robert Fulk

January 11, 2000

Suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature: for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature.

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following people and organizations for their assistance: Stuart Davis, Julie Auger, Robert Botne, Robert Fulk, Nancy Hackleman, Pam Stewart, Kay Hilton, Diane Schaffer, Judith Kennedy, Rene Ordoñez, Todd Sammons, Esha Neogy, Daichi Iwata, Scott Kaiser, Phil and Gayle Eschtruth Harrison, the American Language Academy, and the Southern Oregon University Library. In addition, thanks go to David, Brian, and Clara Rogers and all the Elliotts for moral support.

ABSTRACT

Nancy C. Elliott

A Sociolinguistic Study of Rhoticity in American Film Speech from the 1930s to the 1970s

This dissertation examines *rhoticity*, the presence or absence of a pronounced syllable coda /r/, in the speech of actors and actresses in American films from the mid-1930s to the late 1970s. Rhoticity is examined from the viewpoints of diachronic change and sociolinguistic factors for variation in order to define the shape of change and explain the nature of variation in social contexts. Over two hundred actors and actresses were studied in films of a variety of genres from the five-decade period. A steady decrease in the rate of r-less pronunciations was found in the speech of both individual subjects and the group as a whole. This decade-by-decade change in pronunciation trends indicates a shift in the prestige norm that actors and actresses imitated, from the non-rhotic model of British or New England speech to the rhotic model of Midwestern and Western speech. Patterns of change that differed for male and female subjects studied reveal a difference in the extent of imitation of the norm for the two genders, with female speech exhibiting the characteristics of the prestige norm to a greater extent than male speech.

Relevant conditioning factors in rhoticity variation include, in addition to time period of film and gender of subject, sociolinguistic accommodation to the pronunciation of a co-star, pronunciation modification towards the prestige norm by male speakers when addressing female co-stars, and the use of different pronunciations to portray a character's status, moral qualities, and in a few cases, regional origin. Finally, shifting of pronunciation styles by a subject was used to express certain dramatic intents such as strong emotion and relational attitudes towards other characters in the drama.

CONTENTS

FIGURES

Figure Page

TABLES

Table Page

APPENDICES

CHAPTER 1
Overview and Background

1.1 Overview

One of the most interesting features of English language variation, both diachronically and synchronically, is the pronunciation of syllable coda /r/, that is, the /r/ found in preconsonantal and word-final positions in a word, as in *farm* and *father*. The presence or absence of a pronounced [r] in the syllable coda, termed *rhoticity*, is considered the most important feature in categorizing and describing dialects of English, whether in the U.S. or anywhere else in the world (Wells 1982). It is a very salient feature of English regional and social variation, being an indication of prestige or stigma as well as location, and exhibiting stratification by gender, age, and social class. Stereotyped pronunciations with "dropped r's" (such as as Boston's "Hahvahd Yahd" and New York's "Toity-Toid Street") evoke a stereotyped image of an area and its people. National and regional standard varieties of English differ in their inclusion or exclusion of a pronounced syllable coda /r/ as part of the normative phonology.

Rhoticity as a feature of sociolinguistic behavior, as well as of historical change and diffusion, has been the object of numerous linguistic studies. The present study examines the sociolinguistic behavior over time of a group of speakers very much involved in imitating a norm, actors and actresses in American motion pictures. Using vocal coaches, drama teachers, pronouncing dictionaries, and their own ideas of what was best, these speakers cultivated a pronunciation they felt was appropriate and which would be most acceptable to their audiences as standard (Berry 1973, Hobbs 1986, Martin 1991). One decision for an actor or actress to make has been whether to use a pronunciation that is rhotic or not, that is, whether to pronounce the /r/ at the end of a word or before a consonant with r-like constriction or not. The choice of whether to attempt rhotic or non-

rhotic pronunciations is not arbitrary (though performance may be difficult to control consistently), and the choice is not without consequences in regard to the viewer-listener's interpretation of the role that an actor is playing. In addition, pronunciation chosen by the actor may differ substantially from that of his or her native accent.[1]

This dissertation presents a quantitative study. It examines the rhoticity of subjects acting in dramatic roles in American films across five decades. The subjects are grouped by gender and restricted in age range; factors such as role status, subject's native accent, and interlocutor's gender and rhoticity rate are considered. Some individual subjects are compared to themselves in different roles in the same time period and across time periods. Analysis of the resulting data points to changes in rhoticity rate across time for actors as a group, consistent with the behavior of individuals across time. It will be shown that rhoticity rates do correlate to social factors such as gender of subject and interlocutor, status of subject, and rhoticity rate of interlocutor.

Motion pictures are useful artifacts of recorded speech; they span the past 70 years, they have been preserved rather carefully, and they have been made widely available. Although the speech recorded on these artifacts is somewhat artificial, the speech style of what will here be termed *performed speech* is comparable in the author's opinion to the *careful speech style* of the sociolinguistic interview: more formal than the *casual style* and less formal than the *reading style*.[2] The study of careful speech styles often reveals some interesting information about social factors in linguistic behavior. The texts performed by actors in film are meant to be overheard by an audience, so the participants in a motion picture conversation also include real-life speakers of English. There are two groups of listeners, the *character-listener* (fellow actors with their roles in the drama) and the *viewer-listener* (the viewing audience), and it is likely that both are taken into consideration by the

[1] As defined by Wells (1982), *accent*, rather than *dialect*, is the term used here for a particular pronunciation pattern.

[2]The speech styles studied by sociolinguists comprise the following in a continuum from formal to casual: minimal pairs, word lists, reading style, careful speech, casual style (Downes 1998, 113).

speaker when decisions about linguistic behavior are being made. Performed speech is interesting in terms of the questions that can be raised about its relationship to "real" language, about its use of stereotyped linguistic features in dramatic portrayals, and about its nature as an imitation of a norm. Thus, the performed speech of film actors is a legitimate body of speech for linguistic study.

The possibility that performed speech mirrors the evolution of a linguistic norm is an interesting aspect of the linguistic behavior of actors and actresses in film. The pronunciations used by this group in the speech community reveal the identity of the variety which is the preferred norm at a particular point in time. Actors in motion pictures reflect the perceived standard in their deliberately chosen speech. Unless playing a role for which they wish to depict a nonstandard-speaking social/regional type, actors use, or are instructed to use, pronunciations that they, their vocal coaches, and their directors believe to be the most neutral, clear, and correct language (Rodenburg 1993). The pronunciation of those whose speech is to be disseminated to a large audience *via* the mass media is therefore interesting to the sociolinguist because of the conscious concern for standardized usage and normative speech behavior. Additionally, over time, changes in the American English pronunciation in film, which are clearly observable when listening to actors' speech in films of different decades, should reflect changes in the perceived standard pronunciation.

For an actor, or anyone else, determining what pronunciation is standard American English has not been a straightforward matter, and this is particularly true of syllable coda /r/. In various regions of the English-speaking world, either rhotic or non-rhotic pronunciation is considered the national norm: rhotic in the U.S. and Canada, non-rhotic in England and Wales, for example. Regionally in America, both rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciations exist, often as regional norms. Moreover, the national and regional prestige of the variants changes over time. British English before the eighteenth century had a rhotic norm; now the norm is non-rhotic. While change is in progress, both forms are used in the

same place and often by the same speakers, as the shift from one norm to another takes decades to happen (Downes 1998). Twentieth-century North America is one place and time in which this change has taken place (Downes 1998, Labov 1966, McDavid 1964; to be discussed below), and this change can more easily be studied because of the existence of recordings of spoken texts.

In this chapter, background issues regarding standard English pronunciation and rhoticity will be addressed, and some relevant studies of rhoticity will be reviewed. In Chapter 2 the research questions for the present study are set forth and the methodology of the investigation is described; this includes criteria for selection of subjects and films and the procedure for the collection of data. Chapter 3 presents the results of the study in the contexts of change across time and of variation by gender across time. It will be shown that change over time reflects a shift in the prestige norm being imitated by the subjects, from the non-rhotic model of British or New England speech to the rhotic model of Midwestern and Western speech. Patterns of change differ for male and female subjects, with female speech exhibiting the characteristics of the prestige norm to a greater extent than male speech. In Chapter 4 the variation found in the data is examined from the point of view of several social contexts. It is shown that pronunciation of (r) is influenced by the pronunciation and gender of the subject's interlocutors, as well as to the subject's dramatic intent in portraying a character's status, moral qualities, attitudes, and emotions. Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the conclusions and shows how film speech in this study parallels studies of "real life" speech. Shortcomings are discussed and ways to expand the research are suggested. Four directions for further research in film speech rhoticity are examined in detail: British accommodation to the American norm, the factor of age in variation, the mechanism of affective style-shifting, and phonological conditioning of variation.

1.2 Standard English Pronunciation

Although codified standards exist for the pronunciation of the official or national languages of some nations, there has never been an established academy for the codification of American English, and unlike the situation with British *Received Pronunciation* (RP), there is no official standard American English pronunciation in the United States (Sledd 1993, 277). Prescriptive material exists to define the norms of syntax and much written language usage, but normative pronunciation usage is less clearly defined. American dictionaries include regional variant pronunciations that are considered sufficiently cultivated (Bähr 1974, 204). Prescriptive works on standard pronunciation give conflicting or contradictory information. No definitive reference work, scholarly organization, or government agency attempts to tell the general public what the correct pronunciation of the standard language is.

In spite of the egalitarian desire to avoid prescribing pronunciation – indeed, no official language has even been declared in the United States – an unofficial standard exists. Studies of language attitudes show that Americans perceive there to be a correct variety of American speech (Preston 1982, 1986). This norm can be referred to as the *perceived standard.* It is the target language for both non-native speakers learning American English and for native speakers who wish to use it in public speaking to a nonregional audience or in mass media situations and in other styles and formality levels where the context requires conformity to a norm (Knowles 1997). The perceived standard that is the target for these groups has developed over time, changing as the prestige of certain regional pronunciations has changed. Thomas wrote in 1927 that the "General" variety of American English (in contrast to Southern and New England/New York) was becoming dominant in terms of numbers of speakers and normative authority (Thomas 1927, cited in Mencken 1963). As early as 1951 it was observed that Western pronunciations were spreading at the expense of Eastern ones (Partridge and Clark, 1951, 275). Bähr comments on the problem of specifying which regional pronunciation variant can be identified as standard American

English, since no one pronunciation typifies Standard American English for the entire nation:

> Da nicht jede Aussprache Anspruch darauf erheben kann, für Amerika typisch zu sein, wird die Frage aufgeworfen, welche Aussprache in den USA als korrekt, als "standard" empfunden wird.[3] (Bähr 1974, 204)

Standard English is sometimes equated with "General American," a now somewhat outdated term used to describe the varieties of English used in the Midwest and West, in contrast to the speech of New England and the Southeast. Wells (1982, 470) defines it as follows:

> General American comprises that majority of American accents which do not show marked eastern or southern characteristics, including those deriving basically from the northern speech of the Hudson Valley and upstate New York and those deriving from the midland speech of Pennsylvania. . . . It corresponds to the layman's perception of an American accent without marked regional characteristics. It is sometimes referred to as "Network English", being the variety most acceptable on the television networks covering the whole United States. . . . it was this [General American] type of pronunciation which was carried into the new settlements stretching across the continent to the Pacific.

That the region formerly described as "General American" is considered by speakers of U.S. English to be the area of standard English can be seen in the research of Preston (1993). Speakers in Michigan and Indiana were asked to rate different areas of the U.S. in terms of their correctness of English. States in New England, the Northeast (except New York City), the Upper Northwest, the Great Plains, and the Far West were rated high on the scale of correctness, whereas New York City and the Southeastern states were rated low. The non-rhotic portions of the Southeast were rated the lowest. Interestingly, Connecticut was rated as one of the highest, indicating that, for the speakers

---

[3] "*Since not every pronunciation can lay claim to being typical for America, the question will be raised, which pronunciation is perceived in the USA as correct, as standard.*" (my translation)

polled, the speech of one area of New England is more correct than that of most of the "General American" region.[4]

Several reference works attempt to describe a standard American pronunciation. The earliest (but still very frequently consulted) is *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*, by Kenyon and Knott (1953). In the preface the authors acknowledge the difficulty of their task as compared to that of Daniel Jones' *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1st ed. 1917, 13th ed. 1967), the definitive work on (British) Received Pronunciation. For their American pronouncing dictionary, Kenyon and Knott define their goal as follows:

> . . . our task is much different from [Jones']. He records the pronunciation of a limited and nearly homogeneous class of people in England in a type of speech identical with that of the editor himself. Our problem has been to record without prejudice or preference several different types of speech used by large bodies of educated and cultivated Americans in widely separated areas and with markedly different backgrounds of tradition and culture. Here let it be emphasized once for all that we have no prejudice whatever either for or against any of these varieties of American speech.
>
> It is our aim to record what is rather vaguely called standard speech . . . [and] to record without prejudice or preference several different types of speech used by large bodies of educated and cultivated Americans in widely separated areas and with markedly different backgrounds of tradition and culture . . . Almost certainly we have omitted many "good" pronunciations.
>
> In this edition, the style adopted for representation is that of formal platform speech – and this must be clearly remembered by consultants of the pronunciations here given. The pronunciations. . . . represent actual speech – the speech of cultivated users of English, speaking formally with a view to being completely understood by their hearers. (Kenyon and Knott 1953, vi-vii)

The dictionary entries include some variant pronunciations for three regions of the U.S., labeled as Eastern, Southern, and Northern. Those that are not labeled are considered generally valid (Kenyon and Knott, xxxiii). Words with syllable coda /r/ are presented with both rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciations, and rhotic pronunciation is specified as the pronunciation of the majority of Americans. The general approach of the

[4] Referring to this accent, actress and Connecticut native Katharine Hepburn, playing a character ostensibly from Kansas, says sarcastically to the native Missouran Ginger Rogers in the 1933 film *Stage Door*, "Unfortunately, *I* learned to speak English correctly."

book, then, is to present regional standards when there is no consensus on a national standard pronunciation.

Three pronouncing dictionaries dating from the 1960s and 1970s indicate a preference for some features that are not "General American." The *Dictionary of Modern Pronunciation* (Lewis 1963), the *Dictionary of Pronunciation* (Noory 1965) and the *Dictionary of Pronunciation* (Lass and Lass 1976) list only rhotic pronunciations in their entries of specific words which have syllable coda /r/. The dictionaries have an Eastern or conservative bias in other pronunciations. The Noory dictionary gives the reader only the New England/South pronunciation of [yu] in words such as *news, duty*, and only the conservative, minority usage of a voiceless glide [ʍ] in words such as *who, wheel.* The Lass dictionary also gives first preference to those two pronunciations, though they include as a second listing the pronunciations that are in fact more common, [u] and [w]. Lewis, on the other hand, recommends [u], explaining that [yu] is a self-conscious sound and is not native. He writes, "It is true that many people connected with the theater, the arts, literature, publishing, etc. are fond of using it, but most educated speakers [do not use it]" (106). Additional prescribed pronunciations, though, further indicate a conservative/Eastern bias: Lewis, as well as Noory, recommends the lax variant [I] for final unstressed -y, which is unusual outside New England and the South; all three dictionaries list as an acceptable variant the New England/Southern pronunciation of words such as *aunt*, though Lass marks the non-New England vowel as preferred.

To conclude, one area, the Midwest /West, seems to be considered the region where standard English is spoken, but reference materials as late as the 1970s frequently defer to the still prestigious Eastern Seaboard, suggesting there are residual feelings of correctness for that region's main pronunciation features.

1.3 Rhoticity

The primary division of accents of English concerns whether the speakers pronounce syllable coda /r/ or not. Accents of English fall into three categories, according to Wells (1982, 75-6): *rhotic* accents, in which syllable coda /r/ is categorically pronounced, *non-rhotic* accents, in which /r/ is categorically deleted, and *variably rhotic* accents, in which speakers exhibit a variable rate of rhoticity. (The terms *r-ful* and *r-less* are often used with the same meaning as *rhotic* and *non-rhotic*; Wells uses *semi-rhotic* for *variably rhotic*.)The prestige norm for England and Wales is non-rhotic, Wells states, while in the US, the norm "tends more and more" towards rhoticity (221). The following are some accents of English, categorized by rhoticity type according to Wells (as summarized by Downes 1998, 136), which are relevant to the present study:

Rhotic
General American class of accents: midland, north central, middle Atlantic, etc.
Southern mountain accents in US, "hill type" of speech
General Canadian
Scottish and Irish accents

Variably rhotic
Local accents in the west of England
A few local accents in the north of England
New York City (traditionally non-rhotic)
"Borderline" rhotic/non-rhotic areas in US, e.g. South, eastern New England, black English vernacular

Non-rhotic
RP in England and Wales
Local accents of the east and north of England
Most accents of Wales
Black English vernacular in US
Some parts of eastern New England
Southern speech area in US, "plantation" type

The terms *postvocalic /r/*, *non-prevocalic /r/*, and *syllable coda* (or *syllable-final*) /r/ are all used to refer to the [r] sound that occurs, or occurred historically, at the end of a word or before a consonant, e.g. *fur, firm.* The most frequently used term, *postvocalic /r/*, is misleading: the name suggests inclusion of the intervocalic environment as well, but

rhoticity does not generally vary in that environment, and there are very few dialects of English in which intervocalic r-dropping occurs (Wells 1982, 544). The term *syllable coda /r/* is the preferred term for the present study because it is the most phonologically descriptive.

The environments for r-dropping vs. retention – or insertion, depending on the point of view – can be further subdivided for variably-rhotic accents. Environments can be distinguished according to the class of the preceding vowel and the stress of the preceding vowel (Downes 1998, 135). Thus, *fur, far,* and *offer* all have word-final /r/ but may have differing rates of rhoticity for variably-rhotic speakers. Wells notes that in variably rhotic accents of New England, [r] is more likely to be retained preconsonantally after a stressed central vowel (as in *nurse*) than in other environments (Wells 1982, 520).

Two additional terms relating to rhoticity will be defined here. *Linking /r/* is the [r] sound that reappears in non-rhotic accents word-finally when the following word begins with a vowel, for example, *batter up.* RP has linking /r/; some accents of the U.S. south do not. The presence of linking /r/ suggests that speakers of non-rhotic accents have an underlying /r/ phoneme that is dropped. *Intrusive /r/* is the appearance of an /r/ sound between a word-final unstressed vowel and a following word-initial vowel, where there was never a historical /r/, for example *India(r) ink.* The presence of intrusive /r/ suggests that no underlying /r/ phoneme exists. This pronunciation feature is stigmatized in non-rhotic accents and is suppressed, though at the expense of linking /r/, which also becomes suppressed (Downes 1998, 147).

Historically speaking, loss of syllable coda /r/ had been an innovation in Southern and Eastern England that became widespread in standard speech by the end of the eighteenth century, having begun as early as the fourteenth or fifteenh centuries (Wyld 1920). There is a lack of agreement on whether this new r-less pronunciation traveled to North America as a prestige form with immigrants from Southern England or was the result of prestige imitation by the American elite of Eastern seaports; this is connected to scholarly

disagreement on the question of how widespread British r-lessness was at the time of American colonization. Although some researchers hold that r-lessness was original in the first colonies being established (Romaine 1984, Lass 1987, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998), the majority opinion is that non-rhoticity in America resulted from prestige imitation from across the Atlantic: close ties between the upper classes of southern England and those of New England and the Southeast led to the adoption of non-rhotic pronunciations by the American elite in those regions and the diffusion of the features regionally (Kurath 1971, McDavid 1964, and others). In the twentieth century, rhoticity has been reintroduced into many of the areas which had become non-rhotic; these areas of the U.S. are now variably rhotic as listed above (Downes 1998, 161).

1.4 Rhoticity Studies

There have been a number of sociolinguistic studies with interesting findings on variable rhoticity and the shifts in the rhoticity value of the norm. McDavid (1964) found variable rhoticity in 1940s South Carolina correlated with social stratification and detected the beginnings of a shift in the prestige norm towards rhoticity in the South. In examining variable rhoticity in Black speech in Detroit, Wolfram (1969) found that an increase in (r) pronunciation was correlated with class and with speech style. McDavid and O'Cain (1977) found two norms in Hillsboro, North Carolina, on the border of a rhotic normed region and a non-rhotic normed region. In Hillsboro itself, both r-less and r-ful pronunciations were prestige norms, and variable rhoticity, the middle ground, was associated with low status. Of the two norms, the rhotic norm was associated with younger speakers, newer residents, and women, while the non-rhotic norm was associated with older speakers, long-term residents and men.

In Scotland, Romaine (1978) examined the speech of Edinburgh schoolchildren and found that the two genders behaved quite differently in regard to (r) pronunciation. Girls shifted stylistically from the usual flapped /r/ pronunciation of this region to the Edinburgh

prestige norm of a continuant pronunciation, while boys either maintained the flap or exhibited the male innovation of non-rhotic pronunciation, a vernacular norm with covert prestige not connected to the prestige of RP. Myhill's 1988 study of variably rhotic Black speech in Philadelphia showed that increased rhoticity in this group was correlated with the subject's association (face-to-face contact) with the rhotic white population; in other words, there was sociolinguistic accommodation to the rhoticity value of the white interlocutors.

Two studies of variable rhoticity require more detailed discussion here, Labov's *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966) and Trudgill's chapter entitled "Acts of Conflicting Identity: The Sociolinguistics of British Pop-song Pronunciation" (1983). The first study serves as important background for the present study. It examines the linguistic behavior of a group of speakers who are accommodating to the rhoticity value of the newly-introduced rhotic prestige norm in traditionally non-rhotic New York City. The second study provides a model for the methodology of the present study; it concerns the rate of rhoticity in the song pronunciation of non-rhotic British rock groups in imitation of rhotic American pronunciations, and it examines how and why the rate changed over time.

In the now very famous study by Labov of syllable coda /r/ use in New York City (1966), a survey of the speech of department store workers showed that the subjects' rate of /r/ pronunciation was correlated with the perceived status of the customers in each of three status-stratified department stores.[5] The higher the status of the department store's customer base, the more workers exhibited partially or completely rhotic pronunciations. Rhoticity rates were also correlated with the subjects' age and type of job within the store,

[5] Labov approached various types of employees in each of the three department stores and asked them about the location of a department that was to be found on the fourth floor. After they responded, he requested repetition, which caused them to repeat "fourth floor" in a more emphatic style. Labov then went to a location out of sight of the employee and recorded the values of the four tokens elicited, along with the subject's gender, approximate age, race, occupation and floor within the store, and presence/type of regional or foreign accent.

as well as to the speech style and linguistic environment of the utterance.[6] Labov's hypothesis had been, as he put it, "If any two subgroups of New York City speakers are ranked in a scale of social stratification, they will be ranked in the same order by their differential use of (r)" (1966, 64).

The study, conducted in 1962, confirmed that hypothesis. The highest-ranked of the three stores, Saks Fifth Avenue, averaged a partial or completely rhotic pronunciation index of 62%, the second-ranked store 51%, and the lowest-ranked store 21%. Even within Saks Fifth Avenue, there was variation by the prestige of different areas of the store. The upper floors, where more expensive goods were sold, exhibited a 74% rate of partial or complete rhoticity, whereas on the ground floor where status expectations were lower, the rate was 46%. Labov also found a small degree of gender-correlated variation in the department store study: there were 8% more women than men who were categorically rhotic and 3% more men than women who were categorically non-rhotic. Women were leading slightly in the race to accommodate to the new norm.

Speech style variation revealed more interesting sociolinguistic conclusions. The phrase "fourth floor" was elicited from the department store workers in two styles, casual and emphatic. In the more careful speech style, the rate of rhoticity rose for each group of subjects. This is an indication that the norm the subjects were striving for (in contrast to their actual casual practice) was rhotic. Reflecting on his study years later, Labov writes, "The effect of the new prestige norm was not to modify the vernacular of most New Yorkers, but rather to produce variable behavior in formal situations" (Labov 1994, 90). This is illustrated by additional data that Labov collected in sociolinguistic interviews on the Lower East Side: he found that the rhotic norm was realized in actual practice – in casual speech – only in the Upper Middle Class. Lower, Working, and Lower Middle Class categories had (r) indexes of only 0-1% for subjects aged 8-39, while the Upper Middle Class rhotic speakers in the same age groups averaged 48% of ages 8-19, 35% of ages 20-

[6] For variation by linguistic environment, word-final position elicited a higher rate of rhoticity than preconsonantal position: *floor* had more r's than *fourth*.

29, and 32% of ages 30-39. Labov concludes that the change in the norm began in the 1940s in the upper middle classes, and it is therefore a change introduced "from above," with the younger members of that class as the reference group for other classes to imitate. This is a historical reversal of the prestige norm, which had been non-rhotic; Linguistic Atlas interviews of the 1930s indicate that the area was categorically non-rhotic at that time (Downes 1998, 162).

Labov's experiment was replicated in 1986 by Fowler, who found stability and further spread in the pattern of two decades earlier (cited in Labov 1994). Department workers' choice of (r) variable was still stratified by the status of the department store, though the rates of rhoticity had increased approximately 10% to 20% in each store. The number of people using [r] variably had increased substantially in the lowest-class store, and the number of people using rhotic pronunciations categorically had risen the most in the highest-class store. Therefore, the use of syllable coda [r], part of the new rhotic prestige norm, continues to spread in the more formal speech of New York City, and the mechanism of the spread, which Labov describes as older lower middle class speakers imitating younger upper middle class speakers, is still the same.

Another study that provides important background information for the present study is Trudgill's 1983 investigation of British rock singers' use of stereotypical American pronunciations in imitation of the model group with which they wanted to identify, American singers. Trudgill counted the occurrences of certain linguistic variables in fourteen Beatles and Rolling Stones albums from 1963 to 1970 and in seven British rock albums from 1978. He found a high incidence of American pronunciations in the early 1960s data, decreasing significantly throughout the decade; the number of Americanisms was rare by 1978. This decrease paralleled the decrease of American cultural dominance in pop music in Britain during the same time period.

One of the variables that Trudgill (1983) studied was (r). He found that rhoticity for the otherwise non-rhotic Beatles started out in 1963 at a high point of 47% for the their first

album and dropped steadily over the next four years to under 5% by 1967, the year of the Beatles' seventh album, *Sergeant Pepper*. At that point the rhoticity rate remained basically flat until 1970, the last year that a Beatles album was produced. The pattern for the Rolling Stones during the same time period is very similar to that of the Beatles. By the late 1970s, the punk rock groups Dire Straits, Sham '69, The Stranglers, and Ian Dury no longer considered American pronunciation to be the norm for British singers to use; their rhoticity rates are 0-1% on albums released from 1977 to 1979 (Trudgill 1983, 156).

The explanation that Trudgill gives for the 1960s pop singers' variable rhoticity rather than categorical 100% or 0% behavior is the lack of ability to be consistent. The accent is unfamiliar and the rules not completely understood (Trudgill noted a fair amount of intrusive /r/). Further elaboration on this point is provided in a later publication (Trudgill 1986) on the topic of sociolinguistic accommodation and imitation of other dialects. Here Trudgill suggests that there is a phonotactic constraint on syllable coda /r/ that prevents speakers from more successfully imitating the target variety's usage, in spite of the fact that it is a salient feature of the variety being imitated and should therefore be accommodated to more readily (1986, 16). The 1960s pop singers were much more successful at changing British released intervocalic /t/ to the American flap and replacing the vowel of words such as *ask, path* with the American [æ], although usage was still variable rather than categorical. For these features, there is no change in syllable structure with the substitution of the American sounds for the British ones.

1.5 Stage Speech

The individual subjects of the present study belong to a coherent group that has a particular set of behaviors, including linguistic behaviors. These individuals in the acting profession can be compared to Labov's department store workers, who were not necessarily members of the class of their customers but were imitating a model that they felt appropriately matched the class and speech style of their interlocutors/audience/customers.

Actors feel normative pressure regarding their speech. Part of the training in their occupation involves deliberate attention paid to their speech production, including pronunciation (Berry 1973, Martin 1991, Rodenburg 1993).

In the medium of film, spoken language has been an issue since the end of the 1920s, when sound was first added to motion pictures. The talking motion picture was developed in 1926-28 and quickly became an extremely popular medium. The first all-talking feature film was released in 1928, and by 1930 virtually all motion pictures had sound. The popularity of sound was immediate and intense, and attendance at movie theaters doubled between 1927 and 1930 (Katz 1994, 1386). Stage actors were sought out by film studios to replace silent film actors who had voices and accents that were not acceptable:

> Actors and actresses with heavy accents or speech impediments found themselves suddenly without jobs, while a huge demand for stage performers with trained voices brought about a mass hegira from Broadway to Hollywood. Many early talkies were made in New York; Paramount maintained a busy East Coast studio in Astoria, Queens, to permit stage players to work in films while carrying out Broadway engagements. (1386)

The two media, stage and film, required somewhat different acting and speaking methods from an actor:

> Although an offshoot of the stage tradition, film acting gradually has evolved a style all its own. . . . Stage actors, whom producers began to import in large numbers, were successful to some degree, but many of them failed to make the transition because the screen demanded a more natural way of speaking than did the theater. (Katz 1994, 9)

Nevertheless, the early speech of talking motion pictures was influenced by the speech being used on the American stage as large numbers of stage actors were hired by film companies for talking pictures. As one vocal coach for a major theater company explained, "The theater people were scooped up by Hollywood; they were already trained [in speech], so they set the standard. They needed to bring other actors up to that standard" (Scott Kaiser, personal communication, 1999). There has continued to be a fluid movement of

actors back and forth between theater and film work, and the mutual influence of each group– stage actors and film actors– on the other is ongoing (Kaiser 1999).

American stage acting was heavily influenced by British stage acting throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Americans were trained in London, and many British actors were brought on tour to America (Martin 1991). Nonetheless, twentieth-century stage pronunciation in America was intended to be American rather than British. Received Pronunciation was not the target pronunciation for American stage actors unless playing upper-class British characters (Hobbs 1986). In general, American actors were to use a British-influenced pronunciation termed *Good Speech,* which was taught in American acting schools from the 1920s to the 1940s and continues up to the present time to be taught for specialized purposes such as classic plays (Withers-Wilson 1993, 9, 21).

The leading authority for American stage speech from the 1930s to the 1970s was Edith Skinner, who taught many actors and coaches her classic method for stage speech that included a pronunciation that she called *Good Speech* (Withers-Wilson, 21). Her guidebook for this stage accent, entitled *Speak with Distinction*, was first published in 1942. The editors of the 1990 revised edition write, "The book became widely recognized as the most complete and rigorous text of its kind and was pressed into wider and wider use" (Skinner 1990, viii). In the 1990 revised edition, Good Speech is described as follows:

> Good Speech is hard to define but easy to recognize when we hear it. Good Speech is a dialect of North American English that is free from regional characteristics; recognizably North American, yet suitable for classic texts; effortlessly articulated and easily understood in the last rows of a theater. Good Speech is sometimes known as "Eastern Standard" or "Theater Standard." (Skinner, ix)

The editors make a distinction between this theater speech and General American:

> General American is that dialect of North American English most frequently found in the ordinary speech of people who live in the western United States. It does not sound like the speech of any particular region, yet it sounds distinctly contemporary and distinctively American; an equivalent term currently in use is "Western Standard." General American is acceptable to all American listeners. (Skinner, ix)

The authors claim that the pronunciation features for Good Speech have been "gleaned" from the speech sounds of North American English. It appears more likely that they were gleaned from RP and conservative New England speech, as evidenced by the following description of Skinner's stage dialect, based on an examination of her phonetic transcriptions, pronunciation rules, and exercises.

Some characteristics of Good Speech are found in both RP and New England accents. Good Speech is non-rhotic and has linking /r/; intrusive /r/ is expressly warned against (101). It has the non-rhotic central vowels [ɜ:] and [ə], in words such as *fur* and *offer*, and has the centering diphthongs [ɪə], [ɛə], [ʊə], [ɔə], and [ɑə] as in *here, there, poor, ore,* and *car.* The speech manual reminds the reader repeatedly to pronounce all vowels without r-coloring (344-45).

Good Speech distinguishes between the vowels of *pat* and *ask.* It maintains the distinction of [ɔ:], [ɒ:], and [ɑ:] in words such as *all, honest* , and *father.* The vowels of *Mary, merry,* and *marry* are not merged. Good Speech has the glide [yu] preserved after alveolars, as in *duty* (obligatory after *t, d,* and *n*; optional after *s* and *l*, never after *r*). The lax vowel [ɪ] is prescribed for word-final unstressed -*y* (as in *happy*) and in unstressed affixes (as in *wanted*). These are all items characteristic of both RP and New England accents.

Other items prescribed are not shared by both prestige accents but are represented by one or the other. As in traditional New England speech, the distinction of mid back vowels before /r/ (as in *horse* and *hoarse*) should be maintained in Good Speech. The quality of the vowel in words like *ask* should be [ɑ] rather than the RP pronunciation of [ɑ:]. In Good Speech, voiceless [ʍ] should always be used in wh- words; for RP Daniel Jones lists the voiced pronunciation as most common. American pronunciations of *been, garage,* and *again* are espoused, although a British stress pattern is prescribed for words such as *circumstances, customary, contrary, secretary, February*, etc., and more than one acceptable pronunciation is allowed for some words (*either, vase, secretive, exit, erudite*).

British [əʊ] for /o/ is to be avoided, but so is the American flapped /t/. The prescribed pronunciation for intervocalic unstressed /t/ follows the British model – it is to be released and slightly aspirated so that minimal pairs such as *heating-heeding* are kept distinct.

It would appear that Good Speech, the stage speech taught to American actors during the early- to mid-twentieth century, partly follows a New England accent as its norm and partly follows the British standard. The editors of the book claim that their stage accent differs significantly from RP (393) and insist that it is American. It is also conservative, maintaining a large number of phonological distinctions that have been merged by a majority of American speakers. In fact, it maintains more phonological distinctions than RP, preserving the voiced and voiceless labial glides and the three-way distinction of the vowels of *pat, ask,* and *father.* In conclusion, it can be observed that Skinner's Good Speech is careful, conservative, and non-rhotic. It is full of rare and minority usage, and as such, is a prestige norm rather than a standard norm. The target area of the prestige form apparently is intended to be New England.

Use of these very obviously non-mainstream pronunciations immediately marks the speaker, but it is the mark of prestige. On the one hand, Carver describes the New England dialect as a "distinctive" and "strongly conservative" variety which "hangs onto old, even relic expressions and which is generally less colloquial than any other American regional dialect" (Carver 1989, 21). He adds, "The New Englander's penchant for dropping postvocalic r's . . . and for pronouncing *aunt* and *glass* like a proper Englishman using the vowel [ɑ] are shibboleths often recognized by non-Yankee speakers" (ibid.) On the other hand, the actor and diction coach Robert L. Hobbs writes,

> [In the 30s and 40s] We . . . knew that, without coming right out and saying so, our instructors regarded Eastern speech as being "better" and closer to the "correct" sought-after sound than speech from any other region in the United States. We must avoid, of course, the "ugly" sounds of New York, New Jersey, East Boston, and any spot below the Mason-Dixon line. But of the three traditional American dialects we counted ourselves lucky if we had East Coast rather than Midwest or Southern regional speech. (1986, 5)

The editors of *Speak With Distinction*, writing in 1990, state that although rhotic pronunciation is an acceptable and standard form of pronunciation, they believe non-rhotic pronunciation to be a better choice for most genres of plays because non-rhotic pronunciation provides "the relaxation of tongue, lower jaw and throat that is necessary [for] . . . developing elasticity and ease of tone and tension-free production of the voice." They further state that r-coloring mars the clarity of the vowel (89). However, it is likely that the clarity of the authors' judgment of rhoticity is colored by their social evaluations, since the pronunciations which they prefer for stage speech are conservative, Eastern, British, and elite forms rarely used by any of the book's readers in their native accents. The authors claim that the high value of this accent for the stage is due to the fact that the particular speech sounds "bring a special brilliance, energy and resonance to the spoken word in the theater" (334). It is the nature of a prestige norm to be given this kind of positive evaluation.

A leading vocal music pronunciation manual from the same decade concurs with Skinner about what kind of pronunciation is most appropriate in the United States for the public performer of English text. Marshall's *The Singer's Manual of English Diction* (1953) gives the rules for omitting and pronouncing /r/: a singer should never pronounce syllable coda /r/, with the exception of linking /r/, because that pronunciation is "the most euphonious and natural. The American r, when sung before a consonant, gives the voice an unpleasant, snarling sound" (9). The author continues:

> Occasionally one encounters a student who fears that the omission of *r* will subject him to charges of affectation. If you should happen to suffer from such misgivings, please abandon them now. The omission of r . . . is part of what is called Standard English – the pronunciation of platform, stage, screen, and loudspeaker. Audiences throughout the country, no matter what their own regional accents may be, are so accustomed to hearing it as transmitted by cinema, radio, and television that they take it for granted. (13)

This stage dialect began to be used less in the 1950s, when the view of many acting teachers towards formal voice training had shifted; Good Speech was often considered unnecessary or no longer appropriate for the types of characters portrayed and the types of

stories being told (Withers-Wilson 1993, 12). An actor's performance was supposed to be natural and truthful; many directors were against formal vocal training, believing it would interfere with that naturalness. However, voice training, including pronunciation training, continued to be taught, and voice training courses were added to college and university theater programs in the 1970s (20).

Since the 1960s, when Skinner last revised *Speak With Distinction*, the partly-British, partly-New England influenced stage speech she prescribed has been modified somewhat to permit rhoticity. It is now more commonly referred to as *Theater Speech* or *Transatlantic*, so named because it is "the kind of speech that might be heard somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean exactly halfway between New York City and London" (Hobbs 1986, 6). Hobbs gives a description of it in a 1986 manual of stage speech, instructing the actor to pronounce syllable coda r's, as long as the constriction and r-coloring are slight (23-25). Hobbs says that the completely omitted /r/ sounds phony to many, and that it is wrong to drop /r/'s entirely, because "the result is entirely too British for most American productions these days" (12). On the other hand, Hobbs encourages the continued use of the other Northeastern and/or RP features described by Skinner: maintaining the large complement of low vowels, using voiceless 'wh', and pronouncing the y-glided [yu] before alveolars. The use of this variety of stage speech has become more limited, however. Hobbs recommends its use "for plays containing upper-class or well-educated American characters . . . [or] when producers wish to suggest that the characters are removed from reality or are removed in time or are strange," for example, magicians, wizards, religious entities, and aliens. Hobbs adds that the preferred pronunciation for most ordinary characters in American theater productions now is "General American" (1986, 3-4).

Skinner's recommendation of r-less speech for actors in earlier decades has been replaced by Hobbs' recommendation of slight constriction for /r/ today. It would appear, then, that rhoticity is the norm now in most theater speech, and while Northeastern pronunciations still hold some prestige, they are usually not considered desirable for use in

'normal' roles. This practice in theater speech most likely reflects that of film speech as well. Given the evidence above, it may be concluded that since the 1960s, actors have shifted from using a prestige norm to a standard norm. The prominent vocal director and trainer of vocal coaches, Kristin Linklater, wrote in the 1970s:

> Much of what, in the past, was hopefully labeled Standard American, Transatlantic Speech or Standard English, was a reflection of class consciousness and as an attempted aesthetic rule of thumb is doomed to failure. Yesterday's beauty becomes today's camp and today's ugliness may pass for tomorrow's ultimate truth. (1976, 144-145)

Stage and film actors are part of a larger group of speakers who give public "performances" of English speech; included in this group also are those who work in the mass media of radio and television. They follow usage guidelines for pronunciation as well, and a quick comparison of prescribed norms is worthwhile. Language commentator H. L. Mencken writes that the early radio announcers were influenced by American theater and movie speech and were encouraged to follow a British standard; however, in 1931 the head of CBS's new announcer school began to advocate American speech as a model for its radio announcers, and other broadcasting companies soon followed suit (Mencken 1963). Mencken does not specify which variety of American English the broadcasting companies may have preferred, but NBC advocated the use of a "clear terminal r" (413). Mencken comments in the 1940s, however, that some announcers "still affect something they take to be the English standard" (413). The *NBC Handbook of Pronunciation* (3rd ed. 1964) gives only rhotic pronunciations in its long list of the correct pronunciations of words. The editors state, "That pronunciation is best which is most readily understood, and that pronunciation is most readily understood which is used by most people" (*NBC* 1964, ix). A broadcast speaker with a wider audience than local "will be most readily understood by the majority of his listeners if he uses the pronunciation called by phoneticians 'General American'" (ix). Thus the manual writers recommend [u] rather than [yu] in *news* and [ae]

in *rather* and *aunt.* On the other hand, minority features such as [I] for word-final -*y* and voiceless *wh* are recommended.

The NPR Guide to Radio Journalism and Production, published nearly 30 years later in 1992, also gives only rhotic pronunciations for the words listed in its pronunciation guide section, but the national network sanctions the use of diverse regional accents for its nationally broadcast programs (Rosenbaum and Dinges 1992, 234-325). Regionalisms are a "a matter of reporter preference. . . . Regional language variations are acceptable as long as they do not make the piece unintelligible to listeners elsewhere in the country" (234.)

The above examination of the prescriptive materials used by actors, singers, and news broadcasters suggests the following conclusions: in the 1930s and before, non-rhotic pronunciation was considered most appropriate and was imitated as a prestige norm originating in the speech of a small minority of U.S. speakers; beginning in the 1940s for radio and by the 1970s for the stage, rhotic pronunciation was considered the norm for performed speech. Rhotic pronunciation can be considered a standard norm and not just a prestige norm because that feature is widespread in the nation. The non-rhotic target regions for imitation in the early decades were England (although it was not desired to seem too British) and New England. The rhotic target region for imitation after 1960 is the Midwest; however, New England speech retains some prestige, as seen by the minority features still recommended or listed by some prescriptive works.

CHAPTER 2
Methodology and Variables

2.1 Introduction

This chapter states the questions to be pursued and details the methodological procedures used to obtain the data that answer those questions. First the general research problem is addressed; then a hypothesis and specific reseach questions are set forth. Following that is a description of the methodology used, including procedures and parameters for selecting subjects and films for study and a justification of parameter choices. Finally, the procedures for data collection and statistical calculation are explained.

2.2 Statement of Problem

It is assumed that actors imitate a prestige or perceived standard norm of pronunciation in their film speech performance for most roles[1] and that, in doing so, they are accommodating to the norm that they believe their audience (the *viewer-listener*) deems appropriate. The issue for investigation here is the actors' linguistic behavior concerning the variable (r) and the factors affecting their choice of variant. An examination of pronouncing dictionaries and prescriptive materials for text performers reveals a change in prestige norm from the early decades to later ones, from non-rhotic to rhotic pronunciation. This suggests that actors' rhoticity behavior will follow that pattern through time. Investigation is necessary to see if that is indeed the case and, if so, to define more precisely the shape of the change. In addition, studies of rhoticity variation by Labov (1966), Trudgill (1983), and others point to a correlation of the (r) variable to sociolinguistic factors; an investigation of actor rhoticity must therefore also include a search for sociolinguistic correlations.

[1] Exceptions will be discussed below.

2.3 Hypothesis and Research Questions

A hypothesis can be formed concerning the linguistic behavior of the subjects in this study and the factors which may influence that behavior. American film speech will be non-rhotic or exhibit a high rate of non-rhoticity in early decades and will become rhotic or display a low rate of non-rhoticity in the later decades. The rhoticity choices will be influenced by social factors such as gender and role status (that is, status of the character played by the actor).

Answers to the following research questions will be pursued:

1. In each of the decades chosen for study, is the speech of the subjects rhotic, non-rhotic, or variably rhotic? Do the individuals in a decade-group follow a cohesive pattern?

2. If the pattern is variably rhotic, what rate of rhoticity is exhibited by individuals and by the group?

3. Does the rate of rhoticity vary across decades and, if so, in what ways?

4. Does the rate of rhoticity vary across gender and, if so, in what ways?

5. Are there other conditions under which rhoticity varies ?

6. What explanations may be offered for these patterns of rhoticity?

2.4 Terms

The term *subject* will refer to an actor or actress chosen for study, in all film roles in which the actor or actress was studied. As some subjects were studied in more than one film, the term *subject-role* will be used to refer to a subject in only one particular role. *Interlocutor* will refer to the character-listener, that is, the actor (in his or her character role) with whom the subject is conversing. The rate of non-rhotic pronunciation of an individual or a group will be referred to as the *(r) rate*. The term *decade group* will refer to the group of subjects whose roles studied were in films of the same time period. Decades will be referred to with the numbering system 3-7, representing the 1930s through the 1970s.

2.5 Subject Choice

Subjects were chosen from randomly selected films from the 1930s to the 1970s. Women were chosen as the primary subjects for study. Female subjects chosen were White (including Hispanic[2]) leading and supporting actresses aged 18-42 (see below for exceptions). They were born in North America, born abroad to American parents, or moved to the United States at a very early age. Two female subjects from the British Isles playing North American characters were included for purposes of comparison; they were not included in decade (r) rate calculations. Added to this body of subjects were the male actors of any race co-starring with the chosen female subjects in closely interactive roles, so that paired linguistic interaction could be studied. A small number of male subject-roles without a paired female subject were chosen for additional purposes.[3]

Male subjects ranged in age from 24-56 (see below for exceptions) and were restricted to North Americans or actors playing North American characters. This group included three subjects originally from the British Isles, who were not included in decade (r) rate calculations. In addition, one RP speaker was included for reasons of comparison, and was likewise not included in decade (r) rate calculations.

A small number of subjects studied were older than 42 (for women) and 56 (for men). This included one male romantic lead included in order to study paired interaction, one male included to study interaction with another male, and six subjects (3 female, 3 male) who had been chosen for study in films of earlier decades.

A minimum of twenty female subjects were studied for each of five decades. Twenty-seven subjects were studied in two or more films of the same decade, and twenty-

---

[2] Hispanic is conventionally defined as an ethnic origin; Hispanics are of any race. In this sample, that designation can be applied to two female subjects with fathers from Spanish-speaking countries, Rita Hayworth and Raquel Welch.

[3] One actor was studied in two additional roles for purposes of cross-decade comparison; four actors who were not paired with a selected female subject were chosen because of linguistically interesting interaction with chosen male subjects.

four subjects were studied in films of different decades, including seven who were studied across more than two decades. The purpose of this was to examine inter- and intra-decade variation within the speech of one subject. In total, the subjects numbered 112 actresses in 139 roles and 90 actors in 129 roles, for a total of 202 subjects in 268 different roles. The number of men studied is smaller than the number of women because some male co-stars had RP or foreign accents and therefore were not used and because males reappeared more frequently in different films than females.

2.6 Justification of Subject Parameters

The choice of women as primary subjects is connected to this group's sociolinguistic behavior in regards to normative use. Many studies have shown that female speakers of English conform more to the prestige norm or are more likely to use standard norms than male speakers; women also lead in the adoption of new prestige features and are rated as speaking more correctly or properly (e.g., Kramarae 1982, Labov 1972, Romaine 1978, Trudgill 1983 and others). For this study, the behavior of female subjects will define most clearly the the norm being imitated.

As variation by age was not intended to be a parameter of the present study, the subject pool was limited to young adult and middle-aged speakers, with the exceptions as explained above. The difference in age range of male and female subjects is related to the fact that in film, male co-stars tend to be older than female co-stars, though both frequently play roles younger than their actual age. The median actual age of the subjects in the present study was 28 for females and 38 for males.

Choice of female subjects was controlled for race; however, in the subsequent examination of the speech of male co-stars, subjects in the male sample were not controlled for race. The desire to limit the number of nonlinguistic variables, coupled with the paucity of female African-Americans in film until quite recently, led to the decision to restrict the female sample to one race. On the other hand, the expectation that female subjects might

influence or be influenced by their intimate interlocutors led to the decision not to exclude male co-starring subjects based on age or race. As a result, in the sample two African-American male subjects were studied in a total of three roles.

2.7 Time Period

Films were chosen from the midpoint of each decade from the 1930s to 1970s: 1934-37, 1944-47, 1954-57, 1964-67, and 1974-77. Due to the lack of availability of 1930s films, the sample for that decade was expanded to include one film from 1932 and four from 1933. Moreover, one film from 1980 was included for comparison with the same subject in a 1977 film. At least 20 films were studied from each decade; a total of 109 films were used.

It is assumed that equidistant, four-year periods separated by six-year intervals can provide a studiable slice in the time continuum. The four-year sampling period was chosen in order to be able to find enough suitable films to study. The six-year interval would provide enough of a gap between sampling periods for the linguistic behavior of each period to be considered cohesive and representative of that time period more than to adjacent ones. There is one time period per decade. It is not suggested that characteristics of 1947, to pick one example, necessarily hold true for 1940-49, that is, that the characteristics of the time slice hold true for the entire decade; the decade is an arbitrary division of time. However, it will be useful to refer to the time periods by decade name for association with events in American cultural history.

The decade of the 1930s was chosen as a beginning point for the study because talking films had been developed near the end of the previous decade. Films from the late 1920s are few in number, short in length, difficult to gain access to, and suffer from poor audio quality, whereas the same does not hold for 1930s films. The decade of the 1970s was the last chosen for study. By that time, the reversal of the norm in prestige speech and standard speech from non-rhotic to rhotic pronunciation was expected to be complete.

2.8 Film Choice

From private and university library videotape collections, and secondarily from video rental stores, films available from relevant years were selected at random. Each film initially selected was then included or excluded based on the criteria listed below, until a sufficient number of films was found for each decade. Criteria for inclusion/exclusion included the following:

•Country of origin. Films other than American films were excluded.

•Female lead. A minimum of 20 different lead actresses per decade was desired. If the film had no female starring or supporting role fitting the above criteria, it was excluded.

•Recurring subject. Some additional films were selected which featured subjects who had already been chosen for study in another film. These films were added to the random sample of films in order to study the behavior of an individual's performance across decades and in different film roles of the same decade.

•Genre. Gangster films and biographies were excluded to avoid stereotyped pronunciations and pronunciations based on the usage of a historical figure.

•Role. Roles used were romantic leads and ingenue roles (defined as a young, female romantic lead). Character roles were generally excluded due to their stereotyped nature; however, two character actors were studied for purposes of comparison but were not included in decade rate calculations.[4] Comedic roles were excluded if they appeared caricatured.

•Setting. Films with stories that take place in other English-speaking countries were excluded unless the female lead was a North American actress portraying a North American character. Science fiction roles in which the subject's pronunciation

[4] A character role is defined as "a distinctive character type rather than a standard romantic lead, ingenue, or juvenile part . . . [and is] played by actors or actresses who specialize in the portrayal of particular types" (Katz 1994, 243).

sounds exotic or unusual were excluded. Roles were excluded in which the subject uses a foreign accent or portrays a person who is British.

An attempt was made to select films from a variety of genres. Genres used include drama, science fiction, musicals, romantic comedies, suspense thrillers, and Westerns. Use of Westerns was discontinued for the last two decades of the study, when a stereotyped and caricatured form of speech began to appear.

2.9 Biographical Information

For each subject in each film, the following information was recorded on a data sheet: name of subject; date of birth; place of birth; relevant biographical information, such as where the subject was raised and educated; age at time of film; name of film; date of film; role name; and role status/profession. Subjects studied in more than one film were given one data sheet for each film. The primary source for information on subject's date of birth, place of birth, and additional biographical information was Katz' *Film Encyclopedia* (1994), which contained entries for 175 of the 202 subjects. Information on 22 of the remaining 27 subjects was available through Internet searches. For one subject, only date of birth could be found, and for four subjects, no biographical information was available.

2.10 Dependent Variable

For each film, passages in which the subject had dialogue were listened to two or more times. All words with syllable coda /r/ were written down on the data sheet and a binary notation of *r* or *0* was recorded next to each word to indicate the presence or absence of r-like constriction or r-coloring of the (r) variable. Tokens recorded were broken down into the two categories of pre-consonantal /r/ and word-final /r/. Words in the linking /r/ environment were excluded. Also excluded were words that show r-loss in rhotic dialects due to *r-dissimilation*, loss of syllable coda /r/ in unstressed nonfinal syllables

when another /r/ is present in the word, e.g. *surprise* and *caterpillar* (Wells 1982, 490). Rare occurrences of intrusive-r were recorded in a separate area of the data sheet and not included in the rhoticity rate calculation.

An attempt was made to collect at least 60 tokens of /r/ from each subject-role. This was not always possible, as female acting roles generally offer much smaller amounts of text than male roles; however, a subject-role with at least 15 tokens of /r/ was considered usable.[5] Most subjects spoke enough text for 60 or more tokens to be collected. The average number of tokens collected per subject-role was 69, the average of 18,483 tokens collected from a total of 268 roles.

As the data were examined, patterns of behavior became apparent that suggested the need to tag the tokens by certain social contexts. Some subjects' data were therefore annotated and further divided into subcategories labeled by contexts such as the gender of interlocutor, identity of specific interlocutor, display of hostility or humor, and status condition change during storyline development. Subcategories were to have at least 15 tokens each, preferably 30.

2.11 Calculation of Individual and Decade-Group (r) Rates

After data were collected on the 202 subjects (268 subject-roles), the individual subject-role's (r) rate was obtained by dividing the number of tokens of (r) = 0 by the total number of tokens collected for that individual; the resulting average represents the subject-role's *(r) rate*, or rate of non-rhotic pronunciations out of the total opportunities to produce that pronunciation. All percentages were rounded off to the nearest whole number.

From the individual (r) rates, a decade rate was calculated for each time period in the following manner: For each gender per decade, a group average and median were

[5] Of the total of 268 subject-roles, 8 yielded fewer than 20 tokens (7 female, 1 male), representing 3.0% of the total sample; 7 yielded 20-29 tokens (5 female, 2 male), representing an additional 2.7% of the total sample; 9 yielded 30-39 tokens (7 female, 2 male), representing an additional 3.4% of the total sample. The 24 subject-roles yielding under 40 tokens of (r) represent 9.1% of the total number of subject-roles studied.

calculated from the (r) rates of all subjects. For subjects that had multiple roles in one decade, their (r) rates per role were averaged into one subject rate before the group average and median were calculated, so that a subject was represented only once per decade.

In addition to the gender-per-decade groups (termed *F decade* and *M decade groups*), a total average and median for all subjects per decade (termed *T decade group*) were calculated from the r-rates of both gender groups. The decade average will be referred to as the *decade rate*. The F , M , and T decade rates were compared across gender and time in order to plot a shape and direction of change across decades.

CHAPTER 3
Results: Variation by Time and Gender

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the results of the study in the contexts of change across the five-decade time period and of variation by gender group across time. Regional background of subjects will be considered, as well as trends in the pairing of male-female pairs of co-stars and the behavior of individuals across time. Subjects are grouped by decade, gender, and native rhoticity category.

When tokens of the (r) variable were collected from subjects and (r) rates (indicating the percentage of r-lessness) were calculated for individual subject-roles, it was found that variable rhoticity was extremely common in the speech of the subjects studied, four-fifths of whom exhibited (r) rates spread along a continuum between 3% and 96% . Of the remaining subjects, most (19%) had rates of 2% or lower, predominantly in decade 7, and a very few in decade 3 had rates of 98% or higher. The rates were seen to vary across decades in an identifiable pattern, and some divergent patterns of variation across time were seen in the two gender groups. That variation in rhoticity rates across time and gender will now be examined from several points of view: as group averages across decades; as separate behavior by subjects native to rhotic or non-rhotic regions; as changes in frequency of low and high percentiles of (r) rates for individual subjects, including those subjects exhibiting categorical rhoticity and non-rhoticity; as changes in minimum and maximum rates found in each decade group's range of rates; as variation over time in the pronunciation of individuals who were studied across several decades; and as changing patterns of rhoticity rank for female and male subjects paired in close relationships in the films.

3.2 Cross-Decade Variation of Group Averages

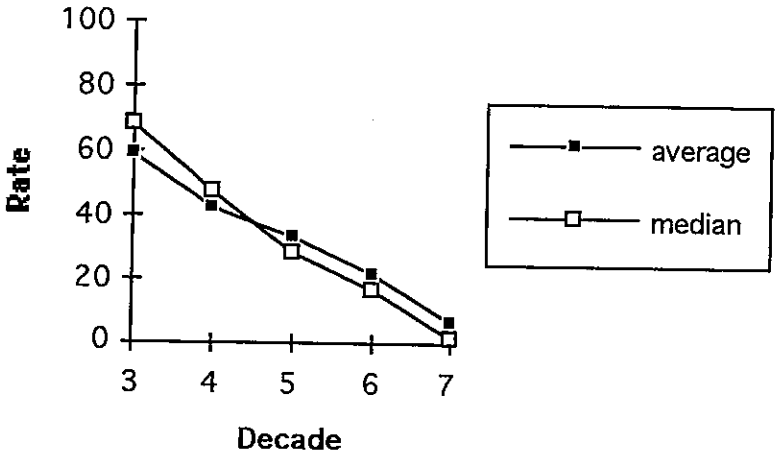
As described in Chapter 2, the individual subjects' (r) rates, the percentage of all tokens of /r/ that are realized as Ø, were used to calculate (r) rates for each decade. Excluded from the decade calculation were the subjects or subject-roles who were chosen for reasons of comparison but who did not meet the criteria described in Chapter 2.[1] The average of the rates of all the qualified subjects in a decade group, termed the *decade rate*, along with the median of the subjects' rates for each decade, are compared for decades 3 through 7 in Table 1, which presents the data for the total group of subjects (the *T decade group*). A comparison of T decade rates across time shows a regular, gradual decrease in (r) rate from decade 3 to decade 7, as illustrated in Figure 1. Tables A-1 and A-2 in the Appendix present a list of the individual subjects' rates along with each decade rate.

Table 1. T Decade Rates

Decade	Total subjects: *average*	*median*
3	59	69
4	43	48
5	33	27
6	22	17
7	7	2

[1] Fifteen subjects were excluded for the following reasons: Six subjects in eight subject roles were from the British Isles, eight subjects in ten subject roles were above the age parameters chosen, and one British-trained American subject used RP in certain social contexts in one subject role. In total, 19 subject-roles were excluded from decade rate calculations, leaving 249 qualified subject roles, or about 50 per decade. A list of subjects studied but not included in decade rate calculations is listed in Table A-3 in the Appendix.

Figure 1. Rate Change Across Decades, All Subjects



The rhoticity behaviors of female and male subject groups differ. When decade rates are calculated for each group separately, the regular pattern seen in Figure 1 becomes more irregular. Table 2 presents the data for female and male decade groups separately, along with the percentage of difference between F and M group rates. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the change in decade rate for each gender across time.

Table 2. F and M Decade Rates

Decade	Female subjects:		Male subjects:		F-M average rate difference:
	average	*median*	*average*	*median*	
3	73	80	45	33	**+28**
4	44	51	42	40	+2
5	43	38	23	13	**+20**
6	21	15	24	18	-3
7	5	2	9	1	-4

(Statistically significant differences are indicated in boldface)

Figure 2. F Decade Rate Change Across Decades

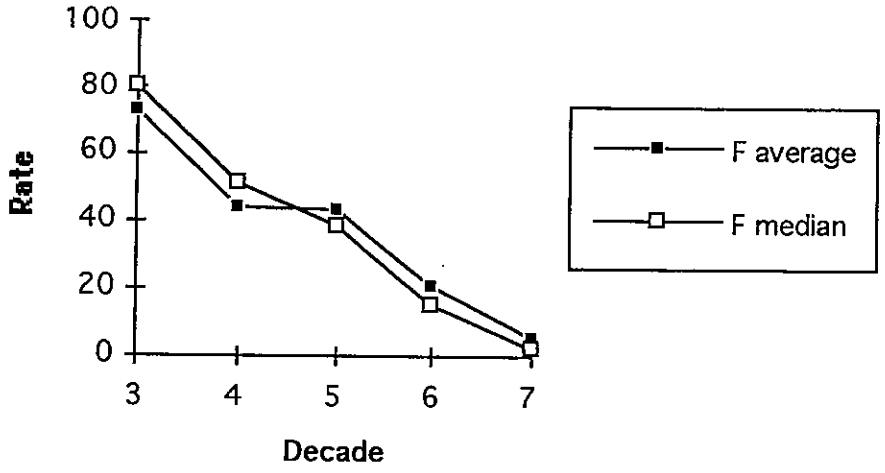
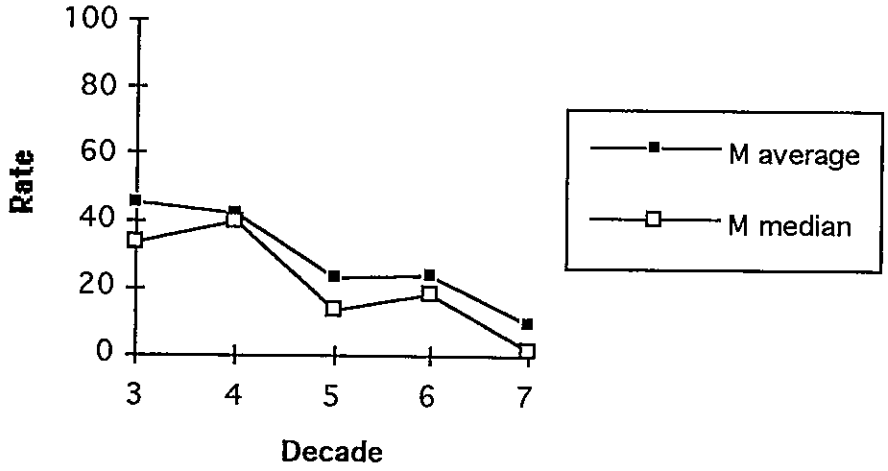
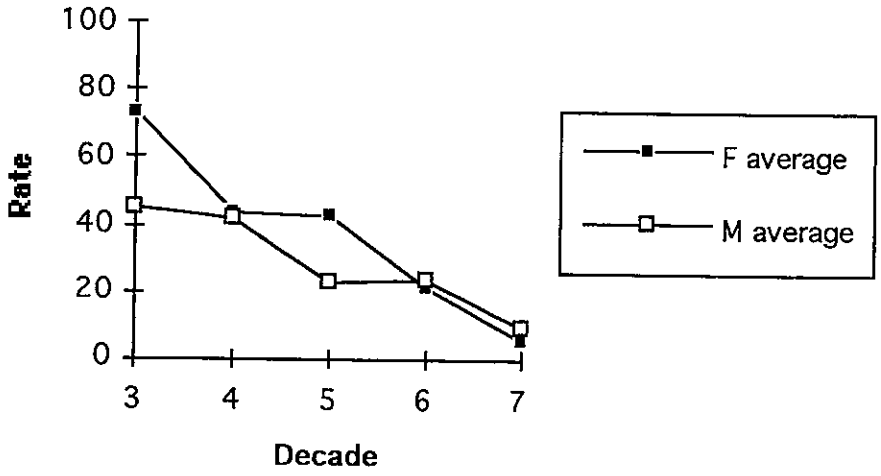


Figure 3. M Decade Rate Change Across Decades



As the tables and figures indicate, F subjects exhibit a significantly greater rate of r-lessness in decades 3 and 5 than do M subjects. In decades 3, 4, and 5, the F decade rate is higher than the M decade rate, while in decades 6 and 7 the M decade rate is slightly higher than the F decade rate, though not significantly so. Figure 4 superimposes the F decade rate and M decade rates for comparison, illustrating the fact that the F decade rates in decades 4, 6, and 7 are very close to the rates of the M group, while in decades 3 and 5 they are significantly higher.

Figure 4. F Decade and M Decade Rates Compared



The percentage of change in the average for each group per decade is shown in Table 3. The decade rate differences that are statistically significant are represented in boldface.[2] The T group's steadily decreasing average rate shown in Table 1 above, which drops 10 to 16 points per decade, masks a differentiation of decades by gender group. It can be seen that the average r-less rate for female subjects drops significantly in each time period except decade 5; between the 1940s and the 1950s there is no significant rate change for female subjects as a group. For male subjects, the rate drops are in different decades than for female subjects. Decades 3 and 4 are virtually identical; then there is a significant drop in decade 5. Decade 6 shows no significant change, and rates drop significantly again in decade 7. It can be seen that men's and women's rates drop and plateau in different decades.

[2] A one-way ANOVA test for change across decade for F and M groups found no statistically significant difference for the M decade rates of decades 3-4 and 5-6, or for the F decade rates of decades 4-5. A two sample t-test was used to verify that there is no statistical significance between F and M decade rates in decades 4, 6, and 7, while for decades 3 and 5 the difference is significant at .01α.

Table 3. Percentage of Rate Change by Decade

Decade	*Total subjects*	*Female subjects*	*Male subjects*
3 to 4	16	**29**	3
4 to 5	10	1	**19**
5 to 6	11	**22**	-1
6 to 7	15	**16**	**15**

(Statistically significant differences are indicated in boldface)

3.3 Subject's Native Rhoticity

In the real world, a speaker's regional origin is perhaps the major influence on that person's linguistic behavior. To some extent actors must rely on their native speech patterns in their performed speech situations. As the subjects in this study were from a variety of regional backgrounds, it is reasonable to suspect that there may be significantly different behavior in film speech from the subjects native to rhotic areas and those native to non-rhotic and variably rhotic areas (The term *non-rhotic* will be used in this chapter to refer also to variably rhotic American speech regions). To find out if this is indeed the case, subjects were divided by rhoticity of native region and examined as separate groups.

Because the subjects in this study are public figures of a sort, basic biographical information is available on the vast majority of them, generally including birthplace and often city or region of upbringing if different from the place of birth. It was not possible in many cases to determine the details of an individual subject's upbringing and the influences of different regional pronunciations on the development of that person's real-life speech patterns. Birthplace is only an approximate guide to a subject's native regional variety since people often do not grow up where they were born. Nonetheless, birthplace was used first as a guide to divide subjects into native rhoticity groups, and this categorization was modified by information, when available, about the subject's region of upbringing.

Birthplace information was available for 192 of the 196 North American subjects. They were born in 30 states, 5 Canadian provinces, and 5 European countries. Those born in Europe either came to the U.S. at a very early age (two subjects) or were born to American parents who returned to the U.S. at some point afterwards (four subjects). Three of the five Canadian subjects moved to the U.S. at a very early age. Table A-4 in the Appendix provides a complete list of the states, provinces, and foreign countries in which the subjects were born.

Region of origin categories were assigned to subjects based on birthplace or region of upbringing (if known). Seven subjects, including three born abroad, could not be categorized due to lack of information. However, the remaining 189 were grouped into rhotic or non-rhotic speech regions, based on Wells' rhoticity categorization of American regional accents (1982). Those regions are listed, along with the number and percentage of subjects from each, in Table 4.

Table 4. Subjects' Region of Birth or Upbringing

Female	*Male*	*Total*	*Region*
4	3	7	unknown
4	1	5	Eastern New England
23	20	43	New York City area
6	7	13	non/variably rhotic South
10	9	19	rhotic Northeast
8	5	13	rhotic South
25	24	49	Midwest
29	16	45	West
2	0	2	Canada
111	85	196	all North American subjects

In the random sample, a large number of subjects were from California and the New York City area, a reflection of the relationship the two largest U.S. cities have with the acting profession. The largest regional representation was from the Midwest (49 subjects), the West (45 subjects), and the New York City area (43 subjects). In total, 36% of the subjects were categorized as natives of non-rhotic regions (23% from the

New York City area), and 64% of the subjects as natives of rhotic regions (20% from California).

To compare the linguistic behavior of rhotic natives and non-rhotic natives, averaged (r) rates were calculated for each of the two groups. Subjects for whom there was no regional background information were not included in the calculation. The category of *non-rhotic native* includes those from Eastern New England, the New York City area, and the non-rhotic Southeast, and the category of *rhotic native* includes those from the rhotic Northeast, the rhotic Southeast, the Midwest, the West, and Canada.

As mentioned above, for each decade's group of subjects there is a continuum of rates over a wide range. In the higher section of that range, subjects from non-rhotic backgrounds predominate, and in the lower section of that range, subjects from rhotic backgrounds predominate. The exception to this general observation is for F subjects in decade 3. Here, region of origin and (r) rate are not correlated, except for those actresses with 100% non-rhoticity. The two groups, rhotic natives and non-rhotic natives, do not cluster around poles, but rather their rates gradually decrease from the maximum to the minimum, accompanied by a shift in predominance of regional origin of the subject.

Average rates for each rhoticity group per decade are given in Table 5. A comparison of rates clearly shows that (a) both groups follow the pattern of decreasing rhoticity rates over the 5-decade time period, although there is no significant change between decades 4 and 5 for rhotic subjects, and (b) the non-rhotic native group has, not surprisingly, higher (r) rates in every decade than the rhotic native group. Figure 5 illustrates the pattern of (r) rate change by decade according to the categories of rhotic native and non-rhotic native.

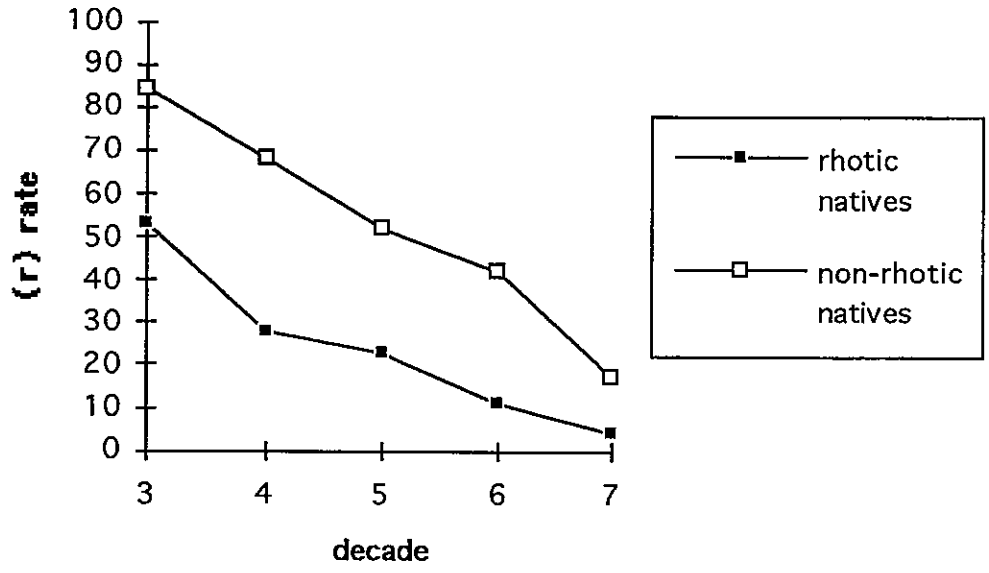
Tables 6 and 7 give the same information broken down by gender. As with the total group, the general trend is for steadily decreasing averaged (r) rates from decade 3

Table 5. T Decade Rates for Rhotic Natives and Non-rhotic Natives

	rhotic natives		non-rhotic natives	
decade	*rate*	*change*	*rate*	*change*
3	53		84	
4	28	**25**	68	**16**
5	23	5	52	**16**
6	11	**12**	42	**10**
7	4	**7**	17	**25**

(Statistically significant differences are indicated in boldface)

Figure 5. T Decade Rate Change by Native Rhoticity Group



to decade 7. However, some subcategories show divergent patterns, plateauing where other categories continue to show a decrease. The rate of the F rhotic native group shows no change between decades 4 and 5 (after falling more sharply between decades 3 and 4 than other groups) while the other three subcategories exhibit a rate change between decades 4 and 5. The F non-rhotic natives show no significant change between decades 3 and 4, and both groups of M subjects show no significant change between decades 5 and 6. These patterns are illustrated in Figures 6 and 7.

Table 6. F and M Decade Rates for Rhotic Natives and Non-rhotic Natives

	rhotic natives		non-rhotic natives	
decade	F	M	F	M
3	70	36	78	89
4	33	22	72	64
5	36	9	58	46
6	15	7	36	47
7	4	3	7	26

Table 7. Rate Change by Gender and Rhoticity Group

	rhotic natives		non-rhotic natives	
decade	F	M	F	M
4	**-37**	**-14**	-6	**-25**
5	+3	**-13**	**-14**	**-18**
6	**-21**	-2	**-22**	+1
7	**-11**	-4	**-29**	**-21**

(Statistically significant differences are indicated in boldface)

Figure 6. F Decade Rate Change by Native Rhoticity Group

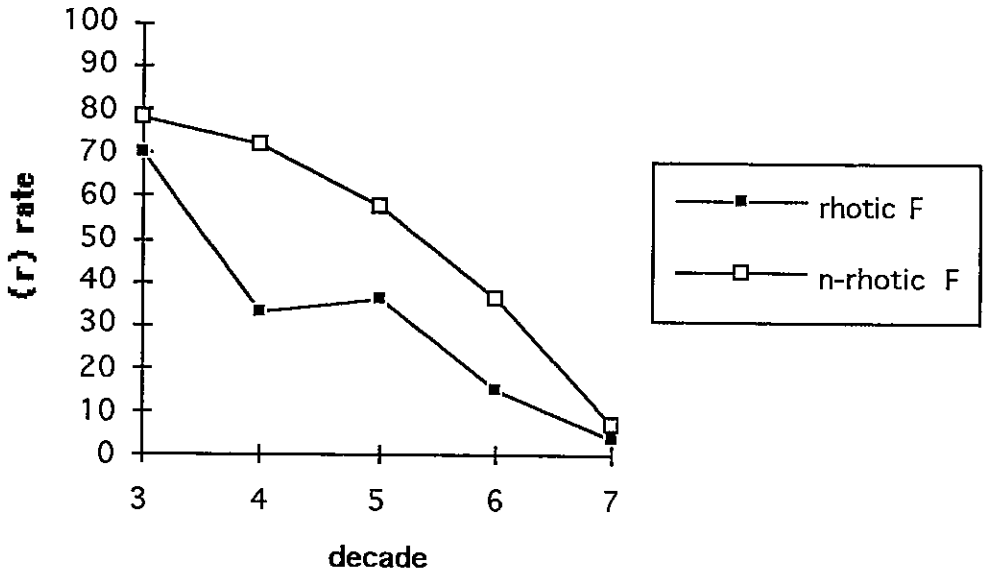
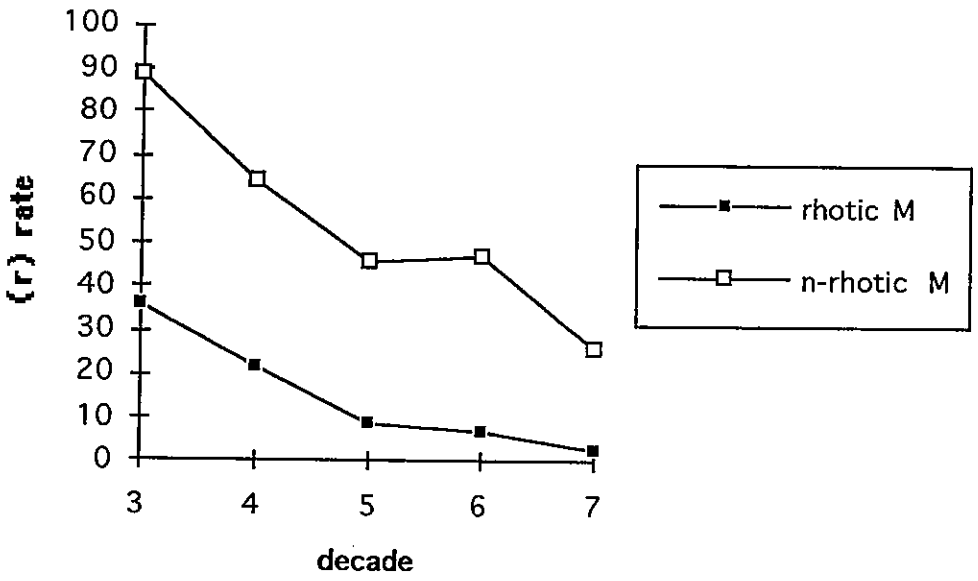


Figure 7. M Decade Rate Change by Native Rhoticity Group



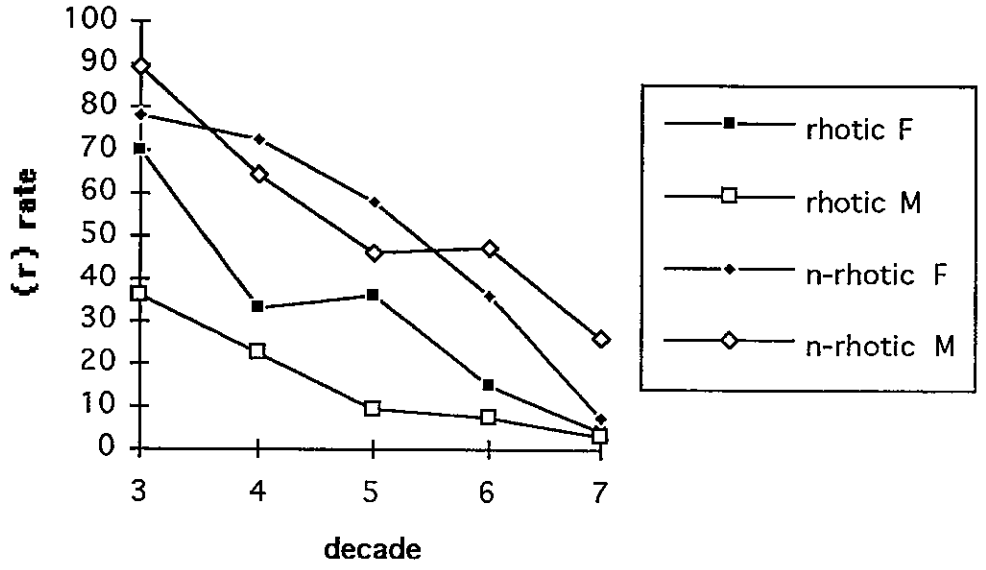
In comparing the behavior of rhotic and non-rhotic categories of each gender group, the following observations can be made. For the two groups of female subjects, consensus is reached in decades 3 and 7. In decade 3 the F groups' rates are in the 70th and 78th percentiles, and in decade 7 both rates are below the 10th percentile, indicating agreement by F subjects in decade 3 that a non-rhotic variety is the norm and in decade 7 that a rhotic variety is the norm. On the other hand, rate averages for M subjects of the two rhoticity categories never converge. For the men, rhotic natives' rates are dramatically lower than those of non-rhotic natives, though the rates drop in parallel fashion from decade 3 through decade 7. In decades 3 through 6, the average difference in the rates of M rhotic natives and M non-rhotic natives is 43 percentage points. Men's rates come closest to converging in decade 7, when the averages are separated by only 23 percentage points.

Further comparison of the four groups finds the following: Male subjects from rhotic backgrounds have the lowest (r) rates as a group across time; the group average (r) rate is under 10 for all decades after the 1940s. By decade 7, the very low (r) rate of

rhotic native males has been matched by female subjects from both rhoticity categories, whose rates have fallen to within 4% of the rhotic-background M rate. However, the average rate for non-rhotic native M subjects remains significantly higher than that of the other three groups. The non-rhotic M group's linguistic behavior has not changed towards the rhotic norm to the degree that the behavior of the other three groups has.

A final observation of the differences in patterns of change of the subcategories can be made. In comparing F-M differences of the non-rhotic natives only, it may be observed that while the F group's rate continues to drop in decade 6, the M group's rate does not. As a result, the F rate falls below the M rate for non-rhotic natives in decade 6. Thus the decade 6 and 7 rates for M non-rhotic natives is higher than that of F subjects. This can be considered the only situation in which a group of male subjects has a rate higher than the F group of the same native rhoticity (the decade 3 group of M non-rhotic natives also has a rate higher than the F groups; however, this M group contains only two subjects and cannot be taken as an accurate reflection of that behavior in a larger sample). Figure 8 illustrates the decade rate change patterns for all four subcategories.

Figure 8. Comparison of Decade Rates by Gender and Native Rhoticity Groups



3.4 Categorical Rhoticity and Non-Rhoticity.

When (r) rates were calculated for each individual subject-role, variable rhoticity was found to be much more common than categorical rhoticity or categorical non-rhoticity in the film speech of every decade except decade 7. Moreover, even in decade 7, variable rhoticity was a common characteristic of film speech: a quarter of these subjects had rates above 10%.

Categorically rhotic speakers were found in the sample from every decade, but there were few before decade 6. A total of 32 subjects in 37 subject-roles had (r) rates of 0, and 28 of those subjects (31 subject-roles) were in films of decades 6 and 7. If the definition of categorically rhotic is expanded to include rates of 5 or less, still only 4% of all subject-roles in decades 3, 4, and 5 combined were categorically rhotic.[3] In contrast to this, in decade 6, a quarter or more of F and M subject-roles were categorically rhotic; finally in decade 7, half (M) to three-fourths (F) of subject-roles were rhotic.

Categorical non-rhoticity was even rarer. To define categorical non-rhoticity, two British, RP-speaking subjects were studied for comparison; their (r) rates were 99 and 100. Only two American subjects had rates this high, both female subjects in a film from the early part of decade 3. If categorical non-rhoticity is defined more broadly as rate of 95 or more, only six American subject-roles in the sample are categorically non-rhotic, five of them in decade 3 and one in decade 5; none were found in decades 6-7. If the rate defining non-rhoticity is further lowered to 90, twelve non-rhotic subject-roles were found, none after decade 5.[4] Table 8 lists the percentage in each decade of

[3] That rate would be equivalent to fewer than four r-less tokens out of seventy words collected.

[4] Two older subjects came close to this in decades 6 and 7, however. Katharine Hepburn (one of the decade 3 subjects whose rate was 100) had at age 60 an (r) rate of 89 in decade 6, and George Burns at age 81 had a rate of 83 in decade 7. Because age variation was not intended to be a parameter of this study, the quantitative analysis was restricted to women aged 42 and under and men aged 56 and under; consequently these two, and other subject-roles above the age limit, were not included in rate calculations.

categorically rhotic and non-rhotic subject-roles compared to the total number of subject-roles in that decade. The rise in frequency of rhotic subject-roles and the disappearance of non-rhotic roles is illustrated in Figure 9.

Table 8. Percentage of Categorically Rhotic and Non-rhotic Subject-roles

Decade	(r) ≤ 5	(r)≥ 90
3	6	18
4	8	4
5	13	2
6	27	0
7	64	0

Figure 9. The Rise of Categorical Rhoticity and the Fall of Categorical Non-rhoticity

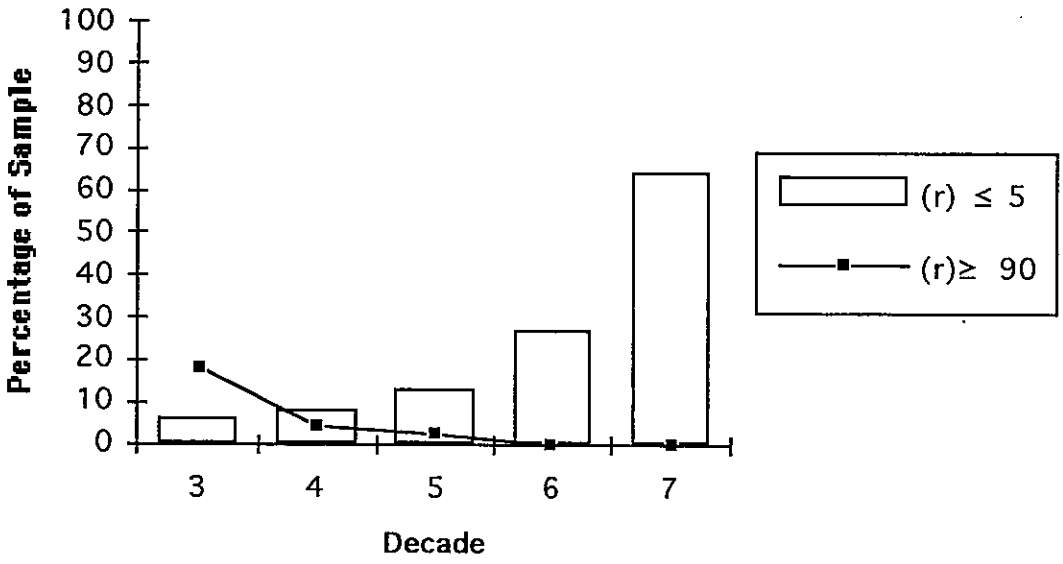


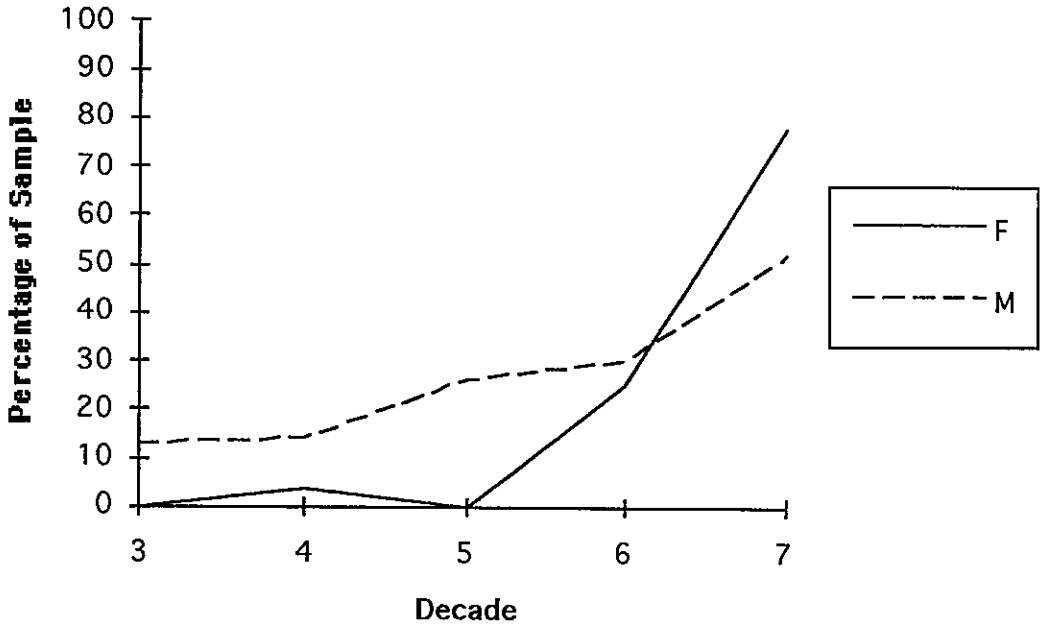
Figure 10 charts the rise of rhoticity for F and M subjects separately. The percent of subject-roles in each decade who exhibit (r) rates equal to or lower than 5 are quite different for the two genders. The rise of rhoticity is much steeper in the F pattern than in the M pattern. During the first three decades, the frequency of female rhotic subject-roles is lower than that of male subject-roles; in fact, F rhoticity is almost nonexistent.

The frequency of female rhotic subject-roles then rises to a point where it nearly matches that of males in decade 6, and then it surpasses the male frequency in decade 7. At the ending point of the study, decade 7, 78% of female subject-roles were categorically rhotic while only 52% of male subject-roles were. Table 9 shows the percent of difference between the F and M rates. Interestingly, the gulf between F and M subjects is equally wide in decades 5 and 7, but with the polarities of rhoticity reversed for the two genders. The norm reversal is such that by decade 7, (r) rates of ≤ 5 are significantly more common for female subjects than for male subjects.

Table 9. Percentage of Subjects in Each Decade with Categorical Rhoticity

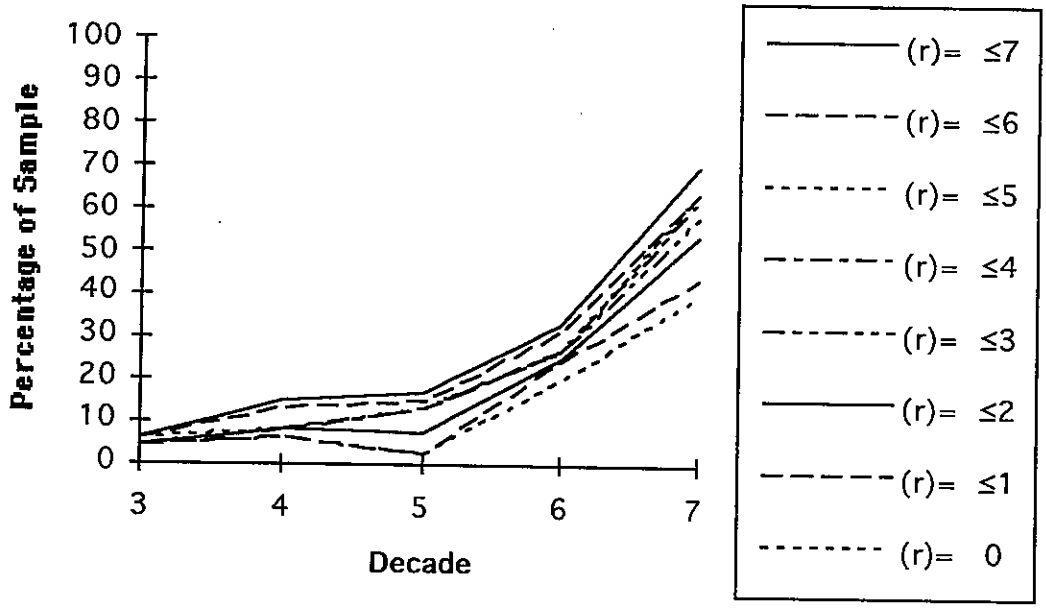
Decade	*Female*	*Male*	*Difference between F and M*
3	0	13	-13
4	4	14	-10
5	0	26	-26
6	25	30	-5
7	78	52	+26

Figure 10. The Rise of Categorical Rhoticity: F and M Subjects Contrasted



A quantitative definition of *rhotic* is not clearly discernible from the data in this sample. The data for all 268 subject-roles show an (r) rate continuum from 0 to 100 with no indication of a division or clustering to identify a rhoticity category. Two dropped r's in a corpus of 70 syllable-coda /r/ words represents an (r) rate of 3; five non-rhotic pronunciations in 70 collected words is a rate of 7. The arbitrary cut-off point of 7 was chosen to illustrate in Figure 11 the rise of rhoticity through time, with each cumulative 1% rate increase indicated in the data series from 0 to 7th percentiles. The frequency of rhotic subject-roles in comparison to all roles in that decade is seen to rise somewhat between decades 3 and 4, to rise more sharply between decades 5 and 6, and to rise most sharply between decades 6 and 7.

Figure 11. Frequency of Subjects with Very Low (r) rates

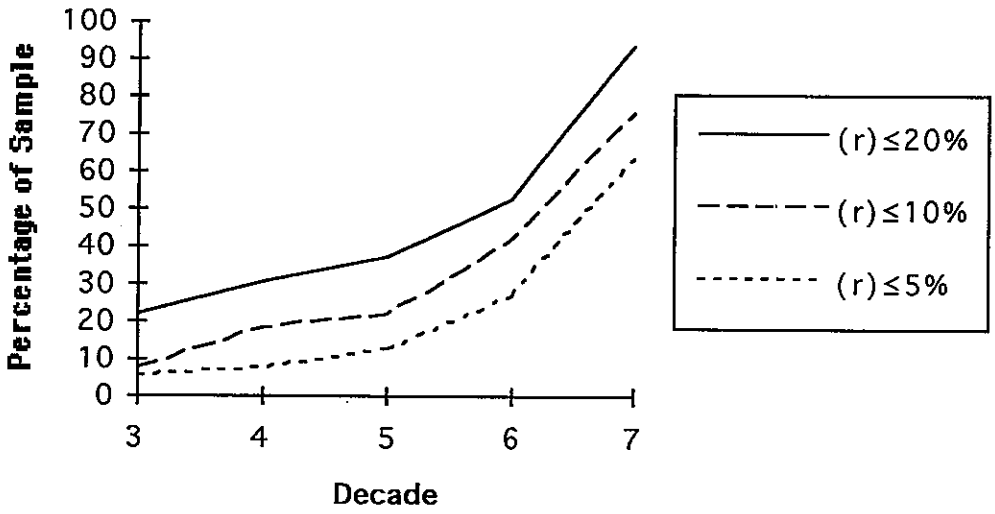


3.5 Variable Rhoticity

Rates between 10 and 20 will be described as lower rates of variable rhoticity, further away from categorical rhoticity on the continuum of (r) rates. A similar pattern to

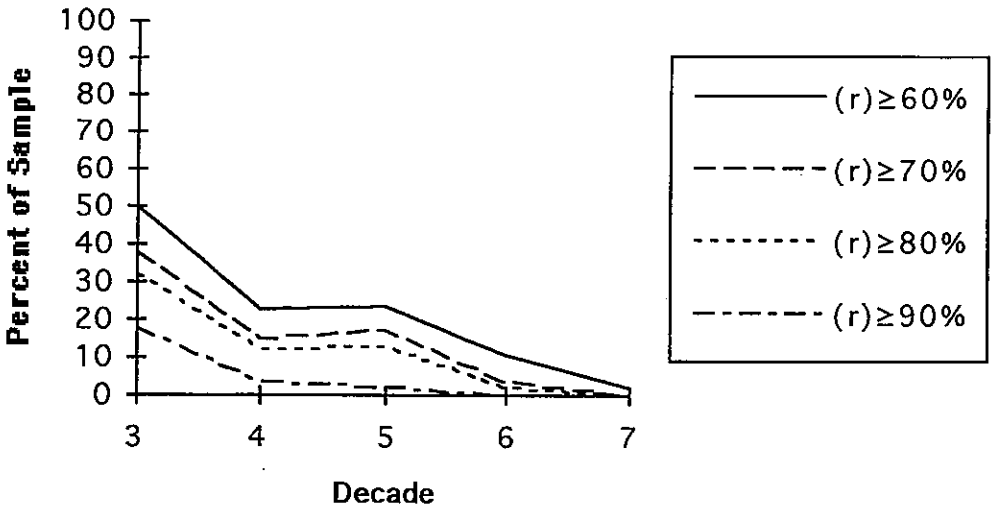
that of the very low rates shown in Figure 11 is seen in these somewhat higher rates. Figure 12 represents the frequency of subject-roles with (r) rates of 20 or less, 10 or less, and 5 or less. The graph shows that the percentage of subject-roles that are under 20% r-less rises gradually from decades 3 to 5, more steeply from 5 to 6, and most steeply from 6 to 7.

Figure 12. Frequency of Subjects with Low (r) Rates



Higher rates in the variably rhotic category become less common through the decades. Figure 13 shows frequency of subject-roles with higher rates of r-lessness in variably rhotic subject-roles. In this graph, one sees that the frequency of subject-roles with high (r) rates, those above 60%, falls nearly to zero from decade 3 to decade 7. In decade 3, half of all subject-roles had rates of 50 or higher. That rate falls sharply from decade 3 to decade 4, then remains basically unchanged until decade 6. Decades 6 and 7 show another large decrease. By decade 7 the frequency of (r) rates in the higher percentiles has fallen to a point so low that occurrences are very rare.

Figure 13. Frequency of Subjects with High (r) Rates



The decline of frequency of higher (r) rates is seen in Figure 14, a continuation of the preceding graph. This graph displays all percentiles of (r) rate from the viewpoint of falling non-rhoticity. Each division in the data series represents a further cumulative 10% of r-lessness. The figures indicate what percent of the sample is above a certain level of r-lessness in each decade division; for example, the solid line indicates that in decade 5, about 25% of the subjects are 60% or more r-less. The general direction of the fall is represented at all levels of r-lessness, and some percentiles, notably the higher ones, exhibit the leveling-off or slight rise between decades 4 and 5 as well as the sharp decline between decades 6 and 7. The continuum of rhoticity can be divided into rough categories based on differences in the patterns of change in each percentile. Rates of 60 and above can be differentiated from rates of 20-50, which can in turn be differentiated from rates of 10 or below. Figures 15 and 16 divide the data regarding cumulative frequency of r-lessness by gender. The r-lessness spike in decade 5 is clearly visible in the F subject data in Figure 15. There is an increase in the frequency of both midrange rates of variable rhoticity and higher rates of variable rhoticity.

Figure 14. Change in Rates of Variable Rhoticity: All Subjects

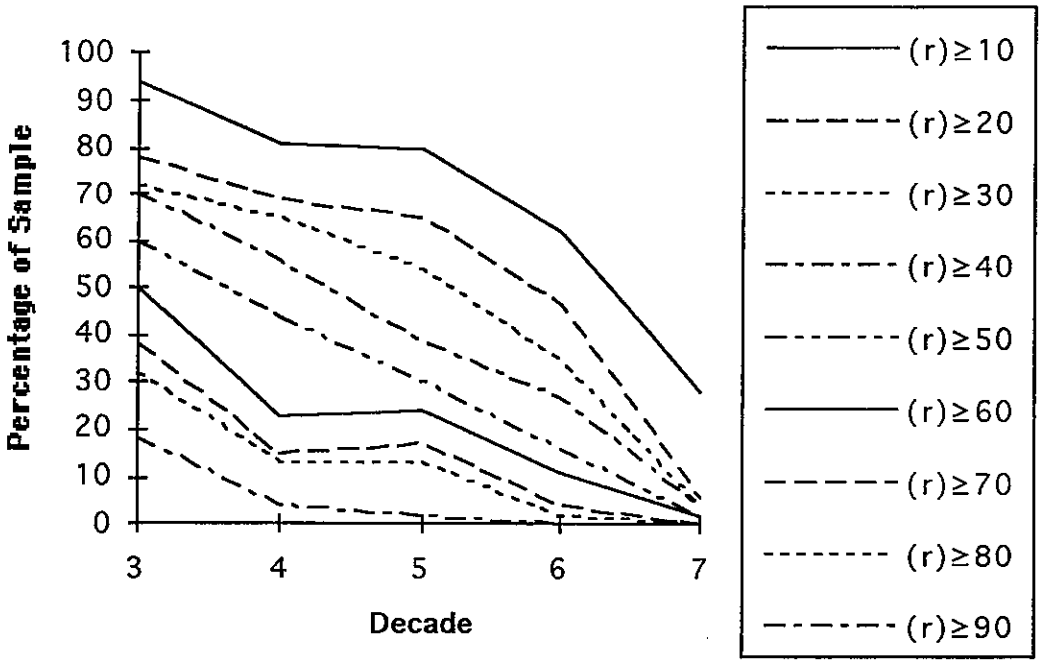


Figure 15. Change in Rates of Variable Rhoticity: Female Subjects

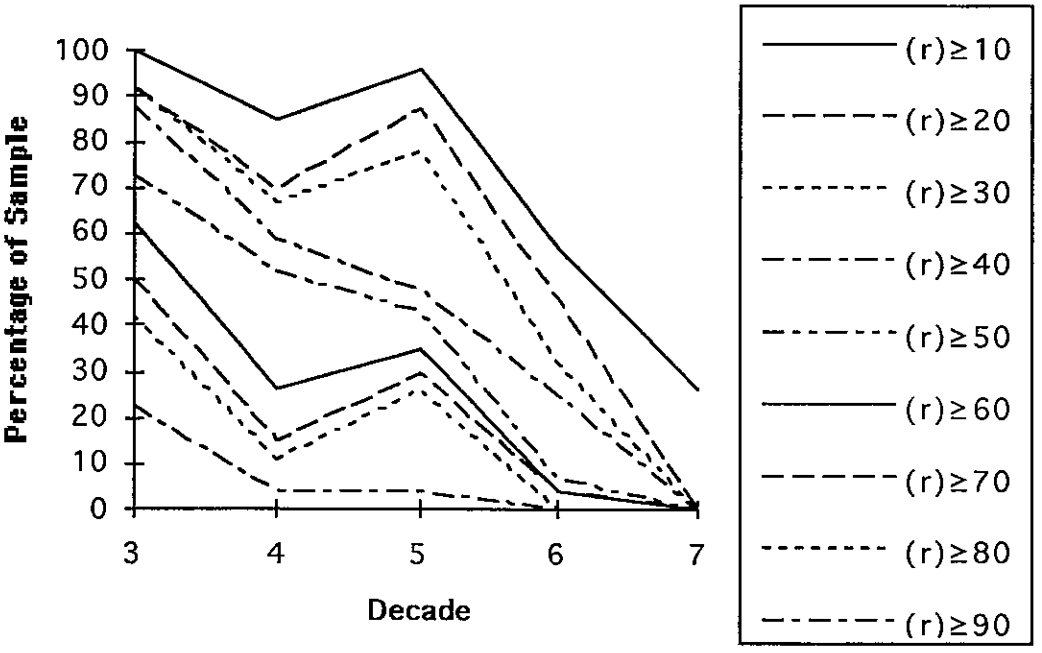
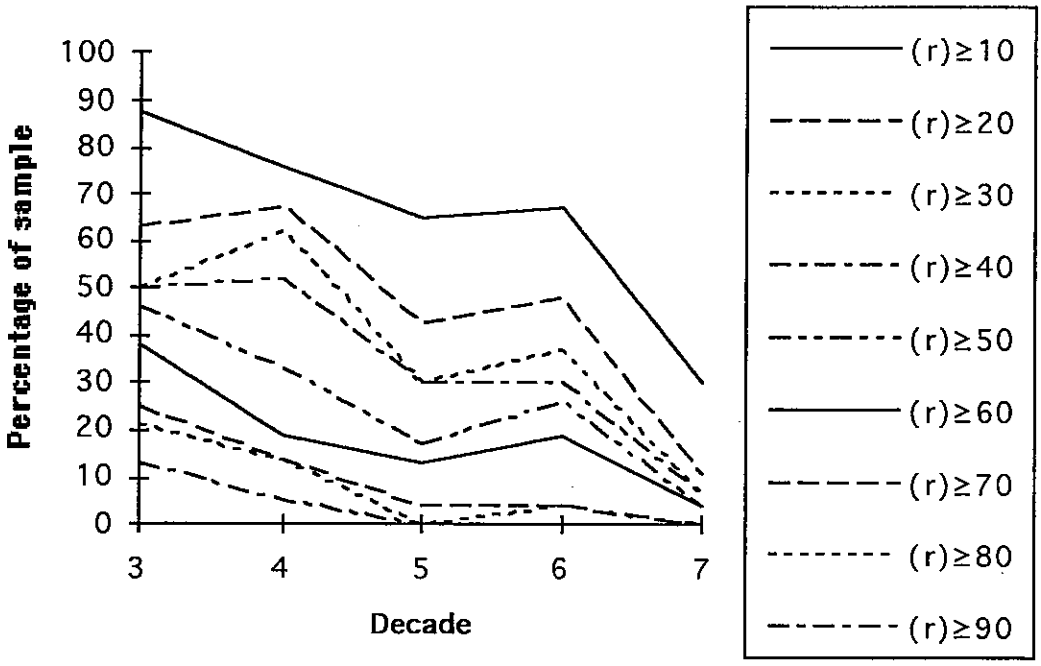


Figure 16. Change in Rates of Variable Rhoticity: Male Subjects



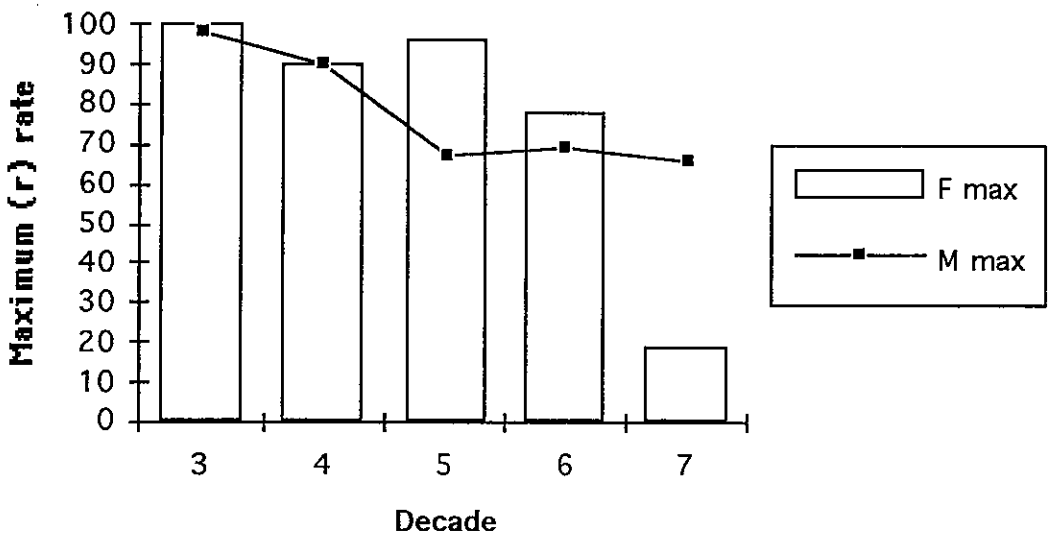
3.6 Decade Rate Range

Within each decade there is a wide range of individual rates. The minimum rate is 0 for all decade groups except for that of female subjects of decade 3 and 5, where the lowest rates are 16 and 6 respectively. Table 10 lists minimum and maximum rates for each gender per decade, and Figure 17 contrasts the maximum rate of the F and M samples for each decade. The maximum rate per decade shows an interesting pattern of change in terms of the differences between F and M data. The maximum rate for M speakers equals that of F speakers until decade 5. Then it dips to just below 70 and remains at that level for decades 5, 6, and 7. In decades 5 and 6 this point is below the F maximum rate, but in decade 7 the F maximum rate has plummeted, leaving the M rate far above it.

Table 10. Minimum and Maximum Rates in Each Gender/Decade Range

	maximum rate		*minimum rate*	
decade	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*
3	100	98	16	0
4	90	90	0	0
5	96	67	6	0
6	78	69	0	0
7	19	66	0	0

Figure 17. Maximum Rate in Range of M and F Samples



3.7 Cross-Decade Subjects

Although the decade rate decreases described above occur in different decades for the two genders, the general shape of the change across decades is still one of decreasing rhoticity through time. Interestingly, that change is exhibited not only as a trend across more than 200 subjects, but also in the speech of the same subjects in roles of different decades. Twenty-four subjects from the total sample, 12 female and 12 male, were studied in films of more than one decade. These subjects' (r) rates from different decades are entered in Tables 11 and 12 (rates for subjects studied in more than

one film per decade are averaged for that decade). A complete list of rates and films of these cross-decade subjects is found in Tables A-5 and A-6 in the Appendix.

Table 11. Rates of Female Subjects Studied Across Decades

	Decade:				
Subject	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
Hepburn, Katharine	100			89	
Loy, Myrna	96	69			7
Hayward, Susan			78	59	
Young, Loretta	74	43			
McGuire, Dorothy		47	**61**		
Mayo, Virginia		63	30		
Jones, Jennifer		24	**46**		3
Wyman, Jane		56	6		
Rogers, Ginger	44	13			
Harris, Barbara				22	13
Welch, Raquel				21	1
Day, Doris			11	1	

(statistically significant increases are indicated in boldface)

Table 12. Rates of Male Subjects Studied Across Decades

	Decade:				
Subject	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
Astaire, Fred	80	39	**49**		28
Grant, Cary		81	**88**		
Curtis, Tony			67	67	
Peck, Gregory		59	25		
Gable, Clark	21		14		
Ford, Glenn		28		3	
Tracy, Spencer	15			19	
Martin, Dean			11	10	
Heston, Charlton			10		0
McQueen, Steve				10	0
Wayne, John	4	4			
Stewart, James		2	3		

(statistically significant increases are indicated in boldface)

As the tables show, the (r) rates of most F subjects and half of M subjects decreased across decades. There were four occurrences of statistically significant rate increases across decades (indicated by boldfaced numbers in the tables). Two female subjects exhibited an increase of 14-22% in the jump from decade 4 to decade 5, and two male subjects exhibited an increase of 7-10% in the same time period.[5] For five of the M subjects, there was no change in rate (*no change* being defined as an increase or decrease of less than 5%). This situation was seen only among male subjects, an indication that for individuals as well as the group, male subjects changed their speech less dramatically than female subjects.[6]

The four subjects whose rates increased between decades 4 and 5 also exhibited rate decreases and rate maintenance. Two subjects, Jones and Astaire, were studied in more than two decades, and their speech behavior exhibits the falling pattern in all decade jumps other than the jump from 4 to 5, as can be seen in Tables 7 and 8 above. The other two subjects, Grant and McGuire, were studied in two roles in decade 4 as well as one role in decade 5. For both subjects, one decade 4 role had a significantly lower (r) rate than the subject's decade 5 role. The F subject's rate difference is 27%; the M subject's is 12%, typically lower than the amount of F subjects' rate changes. Their other decade 4 roles were only 1-2% lower than their decade 5 rate.[7] Thus the same subjects show two patterns in the jump from decade 4 to decade 5, increase and maintenance. All three patterns, increase, decrease, and maintenance, are equally

---

[5] One of the M subjects, Cary Grant, was born in England, though not an RP speaker. Early exposure to the categorically non-rhotic prestige dialect of his native country is probably a factor in the maintenance of his high (r) rate across time.

[6] Looked at another way, the cross-decade rate change of one of these M subjects, Wayne, does exhibit the falling pattern. When Wayne's individual subject-role rates are considered instead of his decade averages, it is found that although his average rate in each decade is 4%, his highest decade 3 rate (11) is higher than his highest decade 4 rate (7).

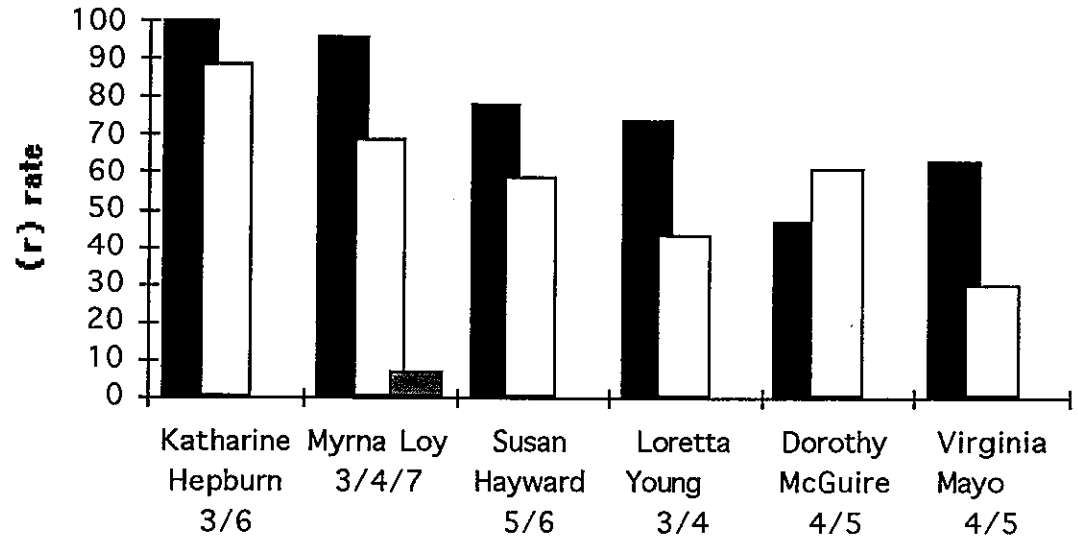
[7] To account for individual subjects' intra-decade variation, social context factors come into play, as will be seen in the following chapter.

represented in the data from cross-decade subjects for the jump from decade 4 to decade 5.

The female subjects showed a more extreme rate of change in rhoticity than the male subjects. For female subjects, a one-decade decrease ranged from 9 to 50%, and the percentage of decrease in (r) rate averaged 20% for each decade of decrease. For male subjects, a one-decade decrease ranged from 7 to 41% and averaged 13.5% per decade. The individual patterns across time are illustrated in Figure 18 for female subjects and in Figure 19 for male subjects. It can be seen that the behavior of individuals over time is consistent with the patterns exhibited by the groups: decreasing non-rhoticity, with a steeper change for female subjects and a fair amount of maintenance of rate for male subjects.

In looking at the downward change in F subjects' rates, it is particularly noticeable that substantial decreases occurred no matter how high or low the rates were in the previous decade. In other words, the absolute value of the rate was not relevant to application of the pattern of the decade-wise decrease: both higher and lower rates in the same decade decreased substantially in film performances of a later decade. To illustrate, in the jump from decade 3 to decade 4, three subjects' rate changes are as follows: Loy, from 96 to 69; Young, from 74 to 43; Rogers, from 44 to 13. All three subjects whose rates were measured in decades 3-4 show a rate change between 25-31%. Although the differences in (r) rate of different subjects within the same decade suggests that the pronunciation of the (r) variable is a very individual thing, probably influenced by several social and personal factors, the similarity in pattern (direction and degree) of change suggests that each individual is following the trend and reflecting it in her own speech with her own (r) rate. Regardless of the reason for the subjects' widely varying decade 3 rates, high rates became less high, and low rates became much lower.

Figure 18. Cross-decade Rate Change for Individual F Subjects



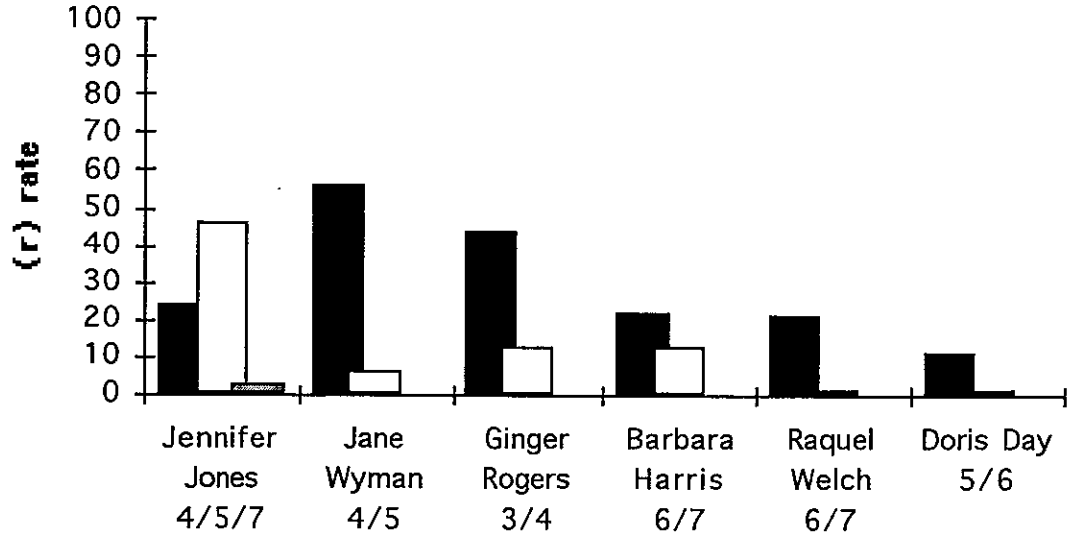
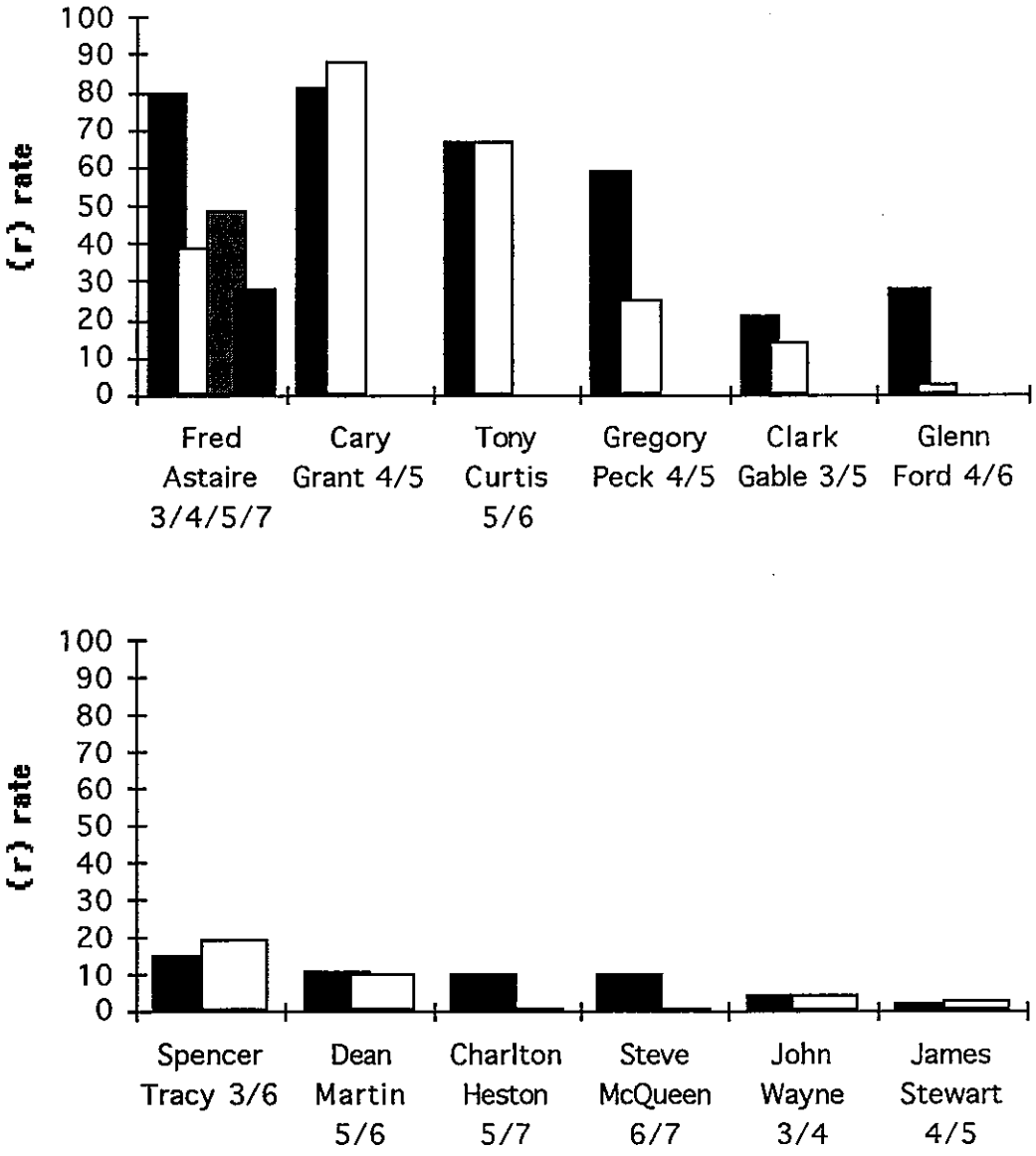


Figure 19. Cross-decade Rate Change for Individual M Subjects



3.8 Female-Male Pairs

Wherever applicable, a female subject was compared to any male co-stars who shared a closely interactive relationship in a film to see whether the group pattern of rhoticity described above exists in the behavior of specific female and male subjects

interacting closely together in the same film.[8] The pairs will be referred to as *F-M pairs*. A total of 119 pairs were examined for three possible patterns: F rate higher than M rate *(F > M)*, F rate lower than M rate *(F < M)*, and F rate equal to or within 5% of M rate *(F = M)*. The number and percentage of occurrences of each pattern are listed in Table 13.

Table 13. Patterns of Comparative Rhoticity in F-M Pairs

	F < M		F > M		F = M		
decade	*number*	*percentage*	*number*	*percentage*	*number*	*percentage*	*Total pairs*
3	3	14%	16	76%	2	10%	21
4	7	30%	10	43%	6	26%	23
5	3	14%	16	76%	2	10%	21
6	14	48%	6	21%	9	31%	29
7	8	32%	4	16%	13	52%	25

In decades 3, 4, and 5, it is more common for a male subject to have a lower (r) rate than his female co-star, rather than a higher one, although in decade 4 the difference in frequency of the patterns is not large. The difference is statistically significant for decades 3 and 5. For decades 6-7 the situation is reversed: there is a greater number of pairs with a higher M rate than F rate. As for the third pattern, in both decades 6 and 7, equality of (r) rate is more common than a higher F rate, and in decade 7 equality is the most common situation.[9] Complete data for the F-M pairs are given in Table A-7 in the Appendix.

Table 14 diagrams the order of each pattern in frequency of occurrence for each decade. *M* refers to a pattern in which the M rate is higher than the F rate; *F* refers to a

[8] Of a total of 136 pair relationships, 119 were romantic, including spousal. Six male characters were friends only, three were colleagues only, three were employers, two were competitors, two were helpers, two were brothers, and one was a father. Fourteen female subjects had no close relationship to a male role or co-starred with an actor who did not fit the qualifications for study due to RP or foreign accents. For calculations in this section, only pairs were included in which both partners were qualified subjects as described in Chapter 2 .

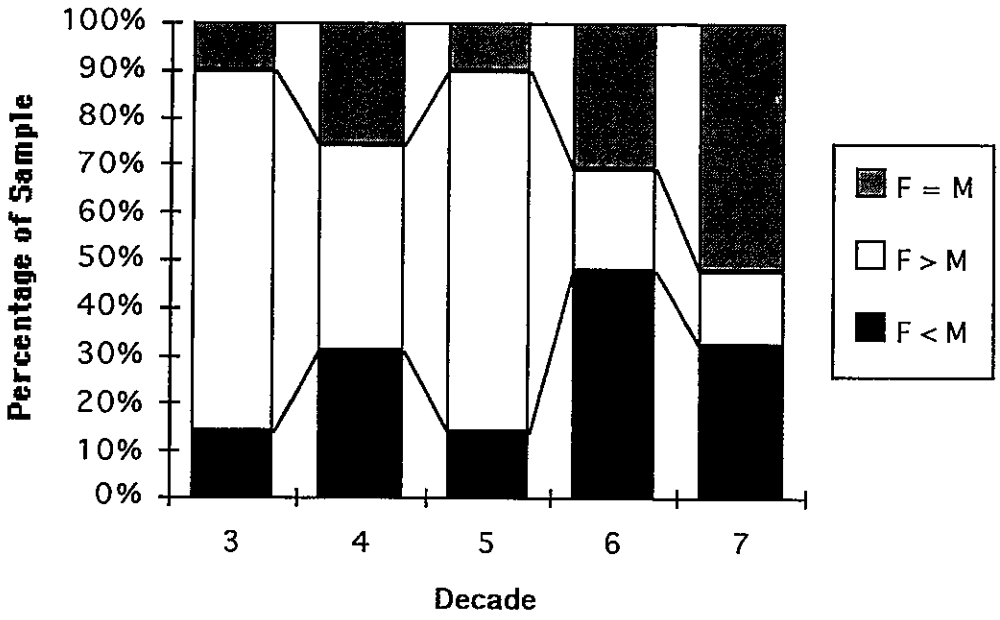
[9] A paired two sample t-test was performed on the F-M pairs, which indicated that decades 3 and 5 differences are significant at .004α.

pattern in which the F rate is higher than the M rate, and *E* refers to a pattern in which the rates are within 5 percentage points of each other. Figure 20 illustrates the frequency of each pattern across decades.

Table 14. Order of Frequency of Patterns in F-M Pairs

decade	*dominant pattern*
3	F > M/E
4	F > M/E
5	F > M/E
6	M > E > F
7	E > M > F

Figure 20. Comparative Frequency of Patterns in F-M Pairs



Of the three patterns, the pattern of equality attains dominance by decade 7. In decade 6, it has moved up in rank to a position ahead of the pattern of higher F rate, and it moves to first place in decade 7. This situation in decades 6-7 is linked to the higher frequency of rhotic speech for both men and women in those decades: seventeen out of

twenty-one pairs exhibiting the equality pattern in decades 6 and 7 are categorically rhotic pairs (i.e., F and M both having (r) rates of 5 or below). However, the equality pattern is typical also of variably rhotic pairs: one quarter of decade 4 pairs have equal (r) rates, and these pairs exhibit a wide variety of variable-rhoticity rates. [10]

The rates of M and F pairs exhibit an interesting relationship to each other in the first three decades. As stated above, a number of decade 4 pairs had matching rates, even though they were in a broad range of rate percentiles. Decade 3 and 5 paired rates, with their dominant pattern of *F>M*, are also in a broad range of rate percentiles. Even though the female partners' rates range from the 90th to 10th percentiles and the male partners' rates range from 98 to 0 (for decade 3) and 77 to 0 (for decade 5), the M rate is almost always lower. It is higher in only three pairs out of 21 for each decade in question. It is notable that the M and F rate difference is wide. For all pairs where the M rate is lower than the F rate, the average percent of difference is 48% in decade 3 and 36% in decade 5. Figures A-1 through A-5 in the Appendix show the relationship of F and M rates in pairs in the five decades. Figures A-1 and A-3, which show F-M pairs in decades 3 and 5, illustrate the fact that for pairs in these two decades, the M rates are virtually always lower than the paired F rates.

3.9 Discussion

The data presented and analyzed above define the shape of variation and change in rhoticity in the speech of young to early middle-aged American actors and actresses in American film, who are assumed to be reflecting the norms thought appropriate by their public, the viewer-listener. The nature of the variation was found to be basically a variation among levels of variable rhoticity rather than a rhotic vs. non-rhotic polarity. Categorically non-rhotic speech was quite rare, found only in the first decade of study for these subjects. Categorical rhoticity, on the other hand, was always present, though

[10] The rates are 87-85, 59-59, 49-49, 39-40, 8-8, and 0-0. The tendency of F-M pairs towards convergence of rates will be addressed in Chapter 4.

it was only a small presence at the beginning of the time period studied; it grew to be quite common by the end of the time period studied. If there are two poles of rhoticity, they can best be described as full rhoticity and a continuum of partial rhoticity.

There seems to be no clear dividing line between rhotic and variably rhotic speech in practice: the rates for subjects formed a continuum of virtually every percentile between 0 and 100. There was no clustering of frequency of rates, with the exception of the rate of 0, which was found in the speech of a substantial number of subject-roles (14%, or 37 out of the 260 roles played by Americans). Variable-rhoticity levels gradually increased from there; for example, there were 24 subject-roles with rates of 1-5 and 25 subject-roles with rates of 6-10. No convenient cut-off point was to be found between full rhoticity and lower levels of partial rhoticity in the body of data collected from these subjects.

Beyond the question of the nature of rhoticity, the main questions investigated in this chapter concerned whether and in what ways the rate of rhoticity varies across decades and across gender. The shape of the change (that is, the pattern of variation from time period to time period) for the whole body of subjects–not distinguished by gender group–was examined from different angles. First, the cross-decade variation was examined from the point of view of group averages and medians that were compared by decade. Then the shape of the change was viewed from the aspect of the rise of rhoticity (the increase in frequency of very low (r) rates among individuals) contrasted with the disappearance of non-rhoticity (the decrease in the frequency of very high (r) rates). Finally, the shape of the change was examined from the point of view of individual behaviors changing over time. Each aspect of the data analysis reinforces the other.

Even though the individual rate variation ranged widely within a decade, each decade had a pattern of decreasing rates from the previous decade. The general trend for all subjects taken together was one of high rates of r-lessness at the beginning of the time period under investigation, decreasing with each decade and reaching a very low

point in the last decade studied. It was seen that high (r) rates, those above 50, became quite infrequent after decade 5, and very low rates, which were rare before decade 6, became very frequent after decade 5. Steadily falling rhoticity rates were the pattern not only for the averaged behavior of the group but also for the behavior of individuals over time. Individual subjects changed their film speech to reflect the group trend in progressive time periods. Spanning periods of two, three, four, and even five decades, the individuals reflected the patterns found for the group.

When rhotic and non-rhotic natives were examined as separate groups, it was found that subjects from non-rhotic backgrounds showed consistently higher rates than subjects from rhotic backgrounds, but both categories of subjects nonetheless show a steady decrease in decade rates from decade 3 to 7. However, the subcategory of rhotic natives showed no statistically significant change from decades 4 to 5.

More specific information was gained about the nature of the change in rhoticity by examining the patterns of gender groups separately. Female and male speech behavior differences were examined from various viewpoints: as differences in decade group average by gender and by native rhoticity subcategory, as differences in the rate and degree of increase in rhoticity, as differences in the maximum (r) rate in each decade range, as differences in patterns and rates of change in the speech of individuals over time, and as patterns of comparative ranking of the rates of closely interacting female-male pairs in each decade. Each conclusion reached supported the other.

Although the F and M patterns both show a change from non-rhotic to rhotic pronunciation, the genders change rates downward at different points in time, alternately falling and plateauing, thereby creating a stepwise pattern. In some decades there are large differences between F and M group averages, and in others the rates are more equally matched. The stepwise patterns of each gender group are offset from each other by one decade until the jump from decade 6 to 7, when the two groups' rates move

together. The F rate falls significantly in all decade jumps except 4 to 5, while the M rate falls significantly in all decade jumps except 3 to 4 and 5 to 6.

In the general shape of the change over five decades, the rate of decline of r-lessness is more dramatic for F subjects than for M subjects, both as decade groups and as individuals across time. In decades 3-5, with (r) rates still fairly high, women's film speech is more r-less than men's film speech. In decades 6 and 7, with (r) rates having fallen lower and lower, the average (r) rates of the two groups are basically equal, although some individual M subjects continue to exhibit high (r) rates. However, there is a higher frequency of very low (r) rates in the F group than in the M group in decade 7.

When F and M groups are separated by native rhoticity category, it can be seen that the subcategory of rhotic native F subjects is the only group that shows rate maintenance rather than change from decade 4 to 5. On the other hand, non-rhotic native F subjects as a group show no significant change from decade 3 to 4. Looked at separately, both subcategories of M subjects do exhibit decreasing decade rates from decade 3 to 4 after all, while neither M group shows change between decades 5 and 6. Moreover, although F rates are higher than M rates in decades 3-5, in decades 6 and 7 the average rate of non-rhotic native M subjects surpasses F rates and is the highest of the four subcategories.

It was further observed that F subjects of both rhoticity categories have equivalent group averages in decades 3 and 7, though they differ significantly in the intervening decades. Group averages of the two M rhoticity categories, on the other hand, remain very far apart during the entire time period studied. In this way, the two F groups show more convergent behavior and the two M groups show divergent behavior. Both at the beginning of the time period studied, when a non-rhotic prestige norm is followed, and at the end of the time period studied, when a rhotic

standard/prestige norm is followed, the two F groups agree on the nature of the norm and have a similar ability to imitate it.

Both F groups converge with the M rhotic native group eventually. The average rate of the subcategory of M rhotic natives decreases to the point of categorical rhoticity (when defined as ≤7) by decade 6; the two subcategories of F subjects attain that level of rhoticity in decade 7. By decade 7 the rates of three of the four subcategories fall to the point of categorical rhoticity, leaving the M non-rhotic natives as the only group that does not converge in speech behavior with the others.

Looking beyond differences in native rhoticity groups, other patterns of F-M speech behavior were observed. A comparison of the (r) rates of F-M pairs found that in decades 3 and 5, the decades during which rate differences between the gender groups are widest, most M subjects have (r) rates well below that of their F co-star, no matter how high the absolute value of the rates is for either subject. Although a M subject might have a higher rate than a F subject in another film, the F subject paired with him generally exhibits the pattern of higher F rate-lower M rate. The pair equality in decade 4 is the result of F rhotic native subjects' rates falling drastically, as the rates of the two subcategories of M subject continue to decrease in a less dramatic manner.

The pattern of higher F rate - lower M rate (expressed as the formula F > M) was found to be predominant in pairs during decades 3 through 5. This changes in decades 6 and 7, when the pattern of higher M rate-lower F rate (F < M) becomes more common. However, a third pattern, one of equality of the two rates within 5% (F = M) becomes more common than F > M in decade 6 and is the most common pattern for M-F pair rates in decade 7, due mainly to the large number of pairs where both genders are categorically rhotic.

These conclusions lead to the following interpretation of events in the changing speech behavior of film actors and actresses. The norm for these performers to imitate in the early decades (3-5) was non-rhotic, as shown by the fact that for the data in this

study, both F and M groups' (r) rates are high. Rates are higher in decade 3 than in any subsequent decade, suggesting that non-rhotic pronunciation had been the prestige norm before the 1930s; otherwise the (r) rates would be seen to rise rather than fall after decade 3. In the early decades, it was most desirable for American actors and actresses to sound r-less, although they did not necessarily have to be r-less consistently. Non-rhotic speech was imitated more consistently by women. The fact that female subjects attained higher rates of r-lessness than male subjects is taken to be an indication that non-rhotic pronunciation was a prestige norm rather than a standard norm.

The existence of another norm, which was rhotic, was starting to cause a downward shift in (r) rates of the actors and actresses as early as the late 1930s. Rhotic native actresses' rates decreased sharply in the period 1944-47 but rose slightly or were maintained in the period 1954-57. Women's rates in film went down to the level of men's by the mid-1940s, a period of equality in American culture, as men went off to war and women went to work in their stead. In the post-war era of the 1950s, there was a return to the image of prestige of the earlier period, though in a less forceful fashion: women's speech was more r-less than men's, but the non-rhotic norm was not imitated as extremely as it had been in the 1930s.

By the 1960s there were competing rhotic and non-rhotic norms for both genders in the acting community, as seen by the continuation of the occurrence of partial rhoticity in both genders as well as the substantial increase in frequency of very low rates in the 1960s. Decade 6 was a transition period during which rhoticity became more and more the accepted norm for F and M speakers. The move towards a rhotic norm was mostly complete by decade 7.

The rise of rhoticity, that is, the reversal of the norms, was not sudden. Two things illustrate the fact that rhoticity replaced non-rhoticity (or more specifically, partial rhoticity) gradually as an overt norm. First, although rare in the speech of F subjects before decade 6, rhoticity was already a feature of the speech of 26% of M subjects in

decade 5. Second, half of the decade 6 subjects were still over 20% r-less. Actors and actresses both were choosing either norm.

The existence of two competing norms can still be seen in the 1970s, but by this time there was a preference for the rhotic norm on the part of both genders, and for actresses it was a strong preference. Most of the subjects studied had (r) rates of less than 20%, and those with partial rhoticity tended to have only mild amounts of r-lessness (only 28% of decade 7 subject-roles had (r) rates of 10 or above, and most of those–all F subjects and two thirds of M subjects–had rates between 10 and 20). In this decade, with the number of rhotic female speakers surpassing that of males, rhoticity was not only the standard norm but also a new prestige norm. By the 1970s, rhotic speech was expected for women and usual for men, although a non-rhotic covert norm was available for male actors to use as an alternative dramatic style in their repertoire of pronunciation choices.

CHAPTER 4
Results: Social Factors in Variation

4.1 Introduction

When the linguistic behavior of the subjects is examined as decade groups, rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciation of the (r) variables can be shown to vary by time period, by gender, and by actor's native rhoticity level. Variation correlated with individual factors remains to be examined. Variation occurs in intra-decade as well as intrapersonal situations: there is variation in the rates of different subjects within the same decade group, variation of different subjects of the same gender in the same film, variation for one subject in different roles in films of the same decade, and variation for one subject in different sections or scenes of the same film. Social contexts will be discussed as factors for variation in these situations. Contexts include the status or nature of the role that the subject is playing, accommodation to the rhoticity level or gender of interlocutors, portrayal of a character's regional origin, and emotional-relational factors in the subject's dramatic intent.

4.2 Role Status

Role status as a factor in the variation of rates will be the focus of this section. Status differences as linked to rate differences will be examined from the points of view of group variation, individual variation in different film roles, and individual variation within one role exhibiting status change. It will be shown that individual rhoticity rates are correlated with the status of the subject's role, as well as with future status and with changes in status.

4.2.1 Status Differences Within Decade Groups

To some degree, the value of subjects' (r) rates within the range of rates in a decade group can be correlated with the status of their particular film role. Certain types of roles are in the lower section of a range of rates in a decade group, and other types are in the upper section. High status roles include high professional, economic, and hierarchical positions (such as judge, film star, or princess), and for F subjects, a family relationship (daughter, wife) to someone with that kind of position. While leading roles are generally not low status, some film roles studied can be considered to have lower status than others. These include roles with lower professional, economic, or hierarchical position (such as showgirl, cowboy, and orphan). It was found that roles with lower prestige are correlated with lower (r) rates and higher prestige roles with higher (r) rates during decades 3-5. A correlation of the status of wealth and importance to a non-rhotic norm persists to some degree in the later decades as well.

In addition, there is a special type of status that may be termed *moral status*. Low moral status roles include villains, murderers, and other "bad guys" and "bad girls," while high moral status roles include characterizations such as exceptionally devout, innocent, or wholesome. In both early and later decades, low moral status is correlated with high rates and high moral status with low rates.

Tables A-8 and A-9 in the Appendix list for each gender-decade group all subject-roles, ranked by rate, with a brief evaluative description of each role in terms of profession, stature, or position through wealth, family, marriage, or other qualities that reflect the status of the role. For female subjects, certain roles cluster in the bottom section of the range in some decades, and high status roles cluster at the top half of the range. For F subjects in decade 3, four of the five lowest five rates, those at 40% or lower, are for showgirl and orphan roles. In the higher range of decade 3, above the rate of 40, are most other roles, including all the wealthy/leisure class, the educated, and daughters or wives of high-status men, but also townspeople and actresses (the higher status of actresses is in

contrast to that of showgirls). Included in this group also is one showgirl role, but one who stars in a musical and will marry a wealthy heir; this role will be discussed in section 4.2.3 below.

For F subjects in decade 4, seven of the eleven rates in the bottom half of the range (0-40) are orphans (3), innocents (3), and a showgirl. (One orphan and one innocent were wealthy or well-to-do; their rates were the highest of the orphan and innocent roles.) In the higher range of decade 4, the rates above 40, are 16 roles. Ten of these include the following high-status positions: wives or daughters of important men, singing or acting stars, members of the leisure class, a judge. In addition, one role with a higher rate has status conferred on her by her workplace: she is a worker in the perfume department of an expensive New York department store. It is notable that seven of the twenty-seven roles in decade 4 are "bad girl" roles; all seven of these roles are above 50% r-less. Having criminal or evil tendencies is not associated with low (r) rates, but being very innocent is: one decade 4 subject with a very low (r) rate plays a wrongfully imprisoned inmate of a women's correctional institution. The "bad girl-good girl" dichotomy of rhoticity will be examined further in section 4.2.6 below.

In decade 5 there are no roles equivalent to that of orphans, innocents, and showgirls in the database. There are, however, some ordinary status roles such as secretaries and non-star-status nightclub/bar singers; these rates are spread throughout the midrange of the decade's (r) rates. Higher status roles, such as wives and daughters of important people, as well as the wealthy and the upwardly mobile, are spread throughout the range as well. Similarly, for decade 6 , few status factors can be detected for the variation in rates. Wealthy women, daughters and wives of important people, performing stars, and the highly educated are in every part of the range. The upper portion of the decade 6 sample does contain five "bad girl" characterizations, however, which will be discussed below in section 4.2.6.

In decade 7, a time of portrayals of ordinary people (middle-class housewives, mothers, teachers, etc.), the few high-status roles are again clustered at the top of the range. Twenty of the twenty-seven F subject roles in this decade have rates of 7% or lower, leaving few non-rhotic roles (those with rates of 10 or above), but of those roles with higher (r) rates, six out of seven are high status roles: an architect, a boss' daughter, an elite art appreciator, a singing star, a wealthy daughter, and a princess.[1]

For male subjects, only decades 3 and 4 show stratification of (r) rates by status. In decade 3, roles in the upper half of the range, above 40%, include wealthy characters, a banker, a film director, a screenwriter, a film star, and a famous dancer. In the lower half are a sailor, a prospector, cowboys, and a dance hall owner. Four newspaper journalist roles are in the midrange of the decade's rates. In decade 4, the upper range includes writers, an angel, an artist, an intellectual genius, and a famous dancer or two. Five soldier roles have rates that are distributed throughout the range. Cowboy roles are in the lowest one-fifth.

In decade 5, roles with lower status such as cowboys, frontiersmen, and ranchers are mixed in throughout the range with higher-status roles such as photographers, musicians, scientists, designers, and high-ranking military personnel. In decades 6 and 7 as well, roles with low and high status are mixed throughout the range, with cowboys, sailors, and smugglers indistinguishable from bosses, senators, and famous singers in terms of (r) rate.

Rather than a question of role status, the division of male subjects into upper and lower sections of the range in decades 4-7 is almost entirely a matter of actors' native rhoticity. In these decades, subjects in the lower range of each decade are exclusively rhotic natives, and subjects in the upper range in each decade are almost exclusively non-rhotic natives. A cowboy role is non-rhotic if the actor cast in the role is a non-rhotic native; that

[1] However, Table A-8 also shows that when the princess role (*Star Wars* 1977) is reprised in the film sequel (*The Empire Strikes Back* 1980), the subject, Carrie Fisher, is much less non-rhotic .

of a highly-paid professional is rhotic if the actor in the role is a rhotic native. F subjects, on the other hand, do not show this sharp division into rhoticity groups, although the top section of the range of rates in each decade has more non-rhotic natives and the bottom section has more rhotic natives. The distribution of F subjects in the range of rates appears to be a combination of native rhoticity and role status.

4.2.2 Status Differences in Different Roles by the Same Subject

Both F and M subjects appear to be sensitive to status as a factor in the variation of their (r) rates, however. Individual variation in rates of a subject studied in different roles of the same decade can be linked to differences in status of the subject's roles. Subjects who were studied in different roles in the same decade usually show consistency from role to role. However, when they do not, role status factors frequently appear to be involved.

Out of the total body of 202 subjects, twenty-seven were studied in different roles of the same decade, 11 women and 17 men. One of the men was studied in multiple roles in two decades, and one was studied in multiple roles in three decades. Lists of all F and M same-decade subjects, along with rates and role status, are given in Tables A-10 and A-11 in the Appendix. An examination of the subjects' comparative rates in different roles shows that a majority of subjects were consistent in their (r) rates in different films in the same time period. Most role comparisons (twenty-five out of forty, or 63%) showed (r) rates to be within 7 percentage points of each other. In addition, however, ten role comparisons (25% of the total) showed mildly different rates, from 9-15 points apart, and five role comparisons (12% of the total) were strikingly different, from 23-48 points apart. This information is summarized in Table 15.

While the numbers of tokens collected from individuals is small (see section 2.10 and Appendix Table A-14), some sample tests reveal that a difference of 7% between two rates is usually significant. Subjects in multiple roles with (r) rate differences greater than

Table 15. Intra-decade Difference in Rates of Same Subject in Different Roles

Amount of difference, in percentage	*Number of instances*
≤ 5	16
6-7	9
9-10	5
11-15	5
23-25	3
31-48	2

7% will be considered to be exhibiting *divergent behavior*. Three possible factors can explain the divergent behavior of a subject in different roles: difference in role status, accommodation to the (r) rate of a co-star, and attempts to show regionalism in the character's speech. The status-determined instances of divergent behavior in comparative film roles will be examined below, and variation due to other factors will be discussed in sections 4.3 and 4.5.

One example of variation resulting from role status differences is the contrast of two roles played by Joan Blondell in decade 3. Blondell's lower-status role as a showgirl in *Golddiggers of 1933* (1933) stands in contrast to her higher-status role in *The Stand-In* (1937), in which she plays a Hollywood actress and later secretary to the head of the film company. Her (r) rate in the showgirl role is 38, while her rate in the actress-secretary role is 62. Another sharp contrast in roles is seen in this example from the following decade. In *The Enchanted Cottage* (1945), Dorothy McGuire plays an orphaned, shy loner who is considered very ugly by those in her village. For this role the subject's (r) rate was 34. The same actress had a rate of 59 as the daughter of an important magazine editor in *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947). As a third example, a slight difference in rates is seen in two roles played by Fredric March. In *Nothing Sacred* (1937), March plays a journalist for a New York City newspaper and has a rate of 58. In *A Star is Born* (1937), he plays a film star, a higher-status role, and has a rate 7 points higher at 65. In these three examples of

divergent behavior, the higher (r) rate goes with the role that has the higher status. The data for the three subjects are given in Table 16.

Table 16. Correlation of Status and Rate for Three Subjects in Multiple Roles

Blondell		McGuire		March	
showgirl	38	ugly orphan	34	journalist	58
actress/secretary	62	editor's daughter	59	film star	65

This correlation of status and (r) rate difference can be seen in a comparison of four roles played by Ginger Rogers in the mid 1930s. Her (r) rate differences are not large, but they do appear to be correlated with differences in role status. Rogers' lowest rate is 40, in the role of a dance instructor in the film *Swing Time* (1936). For the role with the highest rate (53), she is a member of the leisure class and is portrayed as conscious of the need to find a suitable match for marriage (*Top Hat* 1935). In between these two extremes are two roles with rates of 44 and 45. In one role, the subject plays a wealthy Chicago woman trapped in a sham marriage to a British professor (*The Gay Divorcée* 1934). In the other role, the subject plays a famous dancing star (*Shall We Dance?* 1937). These two roles have status higher than that of an unknown dancing teacher but lower than that of a marriageable young woman of the leisure class. The rates and status of the four films are listed below, in order of lowest to highest (r) rate. Three discernible levels of status are correlated with the rank order or three (r) rates (the two middle numbers, 44 and 45, are virtually identical and should be considered one rate).

status description	*(r) rate*
dance instructor	40
wealthy family, wife of professor	44
famous star dancer	45
member of leisure class	53

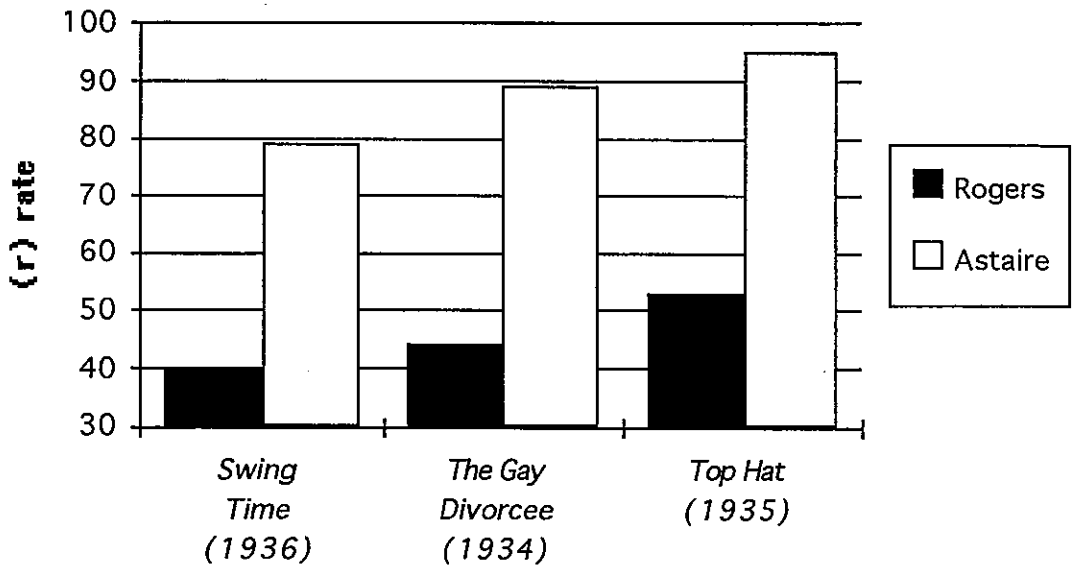
Rogers' M co-star in those films, Fred Astaire, has a 10-16 -point difference in (r) rate in three roles of different status. In *Swing Time*, he plays a rather poor dancer, and in *The Gay Divorcée* and *Top Hat*, he plays a famous dancer. (In the latter film Astaire

appears to be using the status of his co-star as a boost to his own status.) The (r) rates for the three roles are 79, 89, and 95, respectively.[2] Both Astaire and Rogers have reflected this status variation in their speech. The degree to which their rhoticity shift is coordinated (probably subconsciously) is striking, as seen in Table 17 and the accompanying graph, Figure 21. The pair's (r) rates go up or down to the degree that their status goes up or down, while always staying about 40 percentage points apart.

Table 17. Coordinated Rate Variation by Status in the Rogers-Astaire F-M Pair

	(r) rates:		status/profession:	
film	*Rogers*	*Astaire*	*Rogers*	*Astaire*
Swing Time	40	79	dance instructor	poor dancer
The Gay Divorcée	44	89	wealthy family	famous dancer
Top Hat	53	95	leisure class	famous dancer

Figure 21. Rogers-Astaire Coordinated Rate Change by Status



[2] In *Shall We Dance,* Astaire's fourth film co-starring with Rogers, his rate does not fit the pattern shown above; it is an unusually low 56, although he again plays the role of a famous dancer. There are several possible explanations for this. He may have been trying to sound more rhotic because of the emphasis in the storyline on his character's being from Pennsylvania; or, as he gained experience working in tandem with Rogers, he may have begun to accommodate his (r) rate down to hers; or 1937 may have been the beginning of the downward trend in (r) rate that led Astaire into his decade 4 average of only 39. Alternatively, the reason may lie in the fact that in this film, in contrast to the others, Astaire's character is less positively portrayed.

In decades 6-7, although film speech is moving towards a rhotic norm, r-lessness nevertheless is still a status marker, as seen by the correlation of high (r) rates to very high status roles in decade 7. In decade 6, a transition decade for the social meaning of r-lessness, the non-rhotic native Elvis Presley shows the higher status-higher (r) rate pattern in the stratification of his (r) rates. In *Easy Come, Easy Go* (1966), the actor plays the part of a navy diver of respected rank, while in *Tickle Me* (1965) he plays a freelancing rodeo rider with sometimes uncertain employment. As the higher status frogman, his (r) rate is 27; as the lower-status cowboy, it is 18. Sydney Poitier, on the other hand, may have chosen the new r-ful norm as the direction to head in a high status situation. In *A Patch of Blue* (1965) Poitier plays a white collar worker, with a rate of 69. However, in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967) his role is that of an extremely respected, renowned, and famous doctor. His rate in this role is 7 percentage points lower, at 62.

4.2.3 Future Status: Whom Will She Marry?

A higher (r) rate in decades 3-5 films can reflect the future status of a character, even when that status is unknown for most of the story. In two films from this era that feature multiple female leads, the (r) rate ranking of the F subjects was found to be correlated with the relative status of the future husbands of the subject-roles. The first, *Golddiggers of 1933* (1933), is the story of three showgirls who will marry up. The three characters are good friends and seem to have equal status. The actresses' (r) rates are quite divergent, being around 20 percentage points apart. Table 18 lists the F subjects' rates along with the status ranking of the M subjects paired with them.

Table 18. F Rate Correlation with Male Status in *Golddiggers of 1933*

F subject	*F (r) rate*	*romantic pairing*	*M role status rank*
Ruby Keelor	62	Dick Powell	highest
Joan Blondell	38	Warren William	intermediate
Aline MacMahon	18	Guy Kibbee	lowest

Powell's character is from an upper-class family and stands to inherit a large fortune, a fact unknown to the audience and the characters until later in the story. William's character is the older brother of Powell's; he appears to have less status in spite of his age. Kibbee's character is a family friend and appears to have the least status. He is well off, but does not have as much wealth as the other two characters.

Native rhoticity is not a factor in the difference in the F subjects' rates, as all three actresses grew up in New York City. Nor is the (r) rate of the actor with whom they are paired a factor: Powell's (r) rate is 10, William's is 92, and Kibbee's is 15. The actresses are not accommodating to the (r) rate of the actors but to the status of the role's future husband. The woman with the highest (r) rate gets the biggest prize, Powell: Keelor's very high (r) rate is intended to show that she is culturally deserving of such a match. Furthermore, those two have chosen each other. The other two F characters trick the two well-off men into falling for them. They are perhaps less deserving of the status they will marry into. William, love interest of the second-ranked woman, is legally more powerful (due to his age) but less important: he is not the hero/ "good guy" of the film, as Powell is; rather, he is somewhat of a "bad guy."

The same stratification of rates is seen in *Three Coins in the Fountain* (1954). In this film's plot, three American women working as secretaries in Rome fall in love with three men and, in the end, make plans to marry them. Again the three female characters are good friends and appear equal in status. The actresses' (r) rates are ranked in order of the status of the future husband, although it is not known until very late in the story that the characters will marry these particular men. The native rhoticity of the subjects is not a factor in their (r) rate ranking. The most r-less subject, Jean Peters, from Ohio, has a rate of 80. Her character will marry an Italian prince. Next in order of (r) rate is actress Dorothy McGuire, from Nebraska, who has a rate of 61. Her character will marry a well-known, older American writer. The lowest (r) rate is that of Maggie McNamara, from New York City, with a rate of 39. Her character will marry a poor Italian law student from a peasant

family. As with the trio of women in *Golddiggers of 1933*, here each subject's (r) rate is separated by about 20 percentage points. Table 19 summarizes this information.

Table 19. F Rate Correlation with Male Status in *Three Coins in the Fountain*

F subject	*(r) rate*	*status of future husband*
Jean Peters	80	Italian prince
Dorothy McGuire	61	well-known American writer
Maggie McNamara	39	poor Italian student

4.2.4 Rate Modification with Status Shift

In the above examples, F co-stars in the same film had stratified (r) rates that reflect their film character's future status. Another set of films illustrates the fact that one subject's variation of rates within the same film is correlated with a change in status during the course of the storyline. Three film versions of the same story, *A Star is Born*, all show a shift in rhoticity of the lead actress as her film character, an aspiring actress or singer, rises from obscurity to fame. The film was made and remade three times, in decades 3, 5, and 7. Table 20 lists the rates for each subject before and after the status change of attaining stardom; also listed are the F group average for that decade for comparison, as well as the percent of rate change for each actress.[3]

Table 20. Rate Change of Female Lead in Three Versions of *A Star is Born*

year	*F decade average*	*actress*	*(r) rate before stardom*	*(r) rate after stardom*	*% of change*
1937	73	Janet Gaynor	72	89	+17
1954	43	Judy Garland	25	36	+11
		----------*reversal of norm*----------			
1976	5	Barbra Streisand	28	9	-19

[3] For each subject, approximately 40 tokens were collected from each of the two sections of the storyline.

The nearly-identical plot lines of the three versions of the story allow a comparison of the direction of change in (r) rate in three different time periods. In the 1937 original and the 1954 remake, the characters' rates rise after they become famous. In the 1976 remake, the character's rate decreases when she becomes famous. Each subject's rate shifts significantly after the status shift, in the direction of the norm for that time period. In decade 3, rhotic native Gaynor's rate rises above the F decade average after stardom. In decade 5, rhotic native Garland's rate rises to nearly that of the F decade average. In decade 7, the non-rhotic native Streisand's rate before stardom, significantly higher than the decade average rate, falls to a point virtually equal to the F decade average after attaining stardom.

4.2.5 Cross-Decade Subjects Revisited

It was established in Chapter 3 that the general pattern of rate change across decades is one of continuous decrease, with some categories maintaining the previous decade's rates before dropping in the next. However, it was observed in Section 3.7 above that four of the subjects who were studied in films across decades show an increase of rate from decade 4 to decade 5. To account for these individual exceptions to the group pattern, role status differences come into play.

In decade 4, Jennifer Jones plays the role of an amnesiac orphan suspected (but innocent) of murder in *Love Letters* (1945), and in decade 5 she plays the wife of an upwardly mobile professional in *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1956). In the first film, with its low-status role, Jones has a rate of 24, and in the second, with its higher status role, her rate is 46. Jones' increase of 22 points from decade 4 to 5 is correlated with a rise in status of her later role.

Dorothy McGuire was studied in two decade 4 films and one decade 5 film. In decade 4, McGuire has a rate of 34 as a low-status orphaned cleaning girl (*The Enchanted Cottage* 1945) and a rate of 59 as the high-status daughter of a magazine editor

(*Gentleman's Agreement* 1947). McGuire's role as secretary to a well-known writer in her decade 5 film *Three Coins in the Fountain* (1954) has virtually the same rate, 61, as the higher-status role in decade 4, but the rate is 27 points higher than the low-status decade 4 role.

Fred Astaire was studied in two roles in each decade. His decade 4 roles both have lower (r) rates than his decade 5 roles. His average rate for each decade shows a 10-point increase of rate from decades 4-5, and there is a 15-point difference between his lowest decade 4 role and his highest decade 5 role. The decade 5 roles are high status: fashion magazine photographer and Hollywood producer in *Funny Face* (1956) and *Silk Stockings* (1957). His rates in these films are 46 and 52 respectively. In decade 4, on the other hand, Astaire's role status is lower as a con man (though one who becomes a good person) in *Yolanda and the Thief* (1947); in the other role of decade 4, he plays himself, Fred Astaire, successful dancing star, but perhaps with some humility (*Ziegfield Follies* 1944). The rates for these two films are 37 and 41 respectively. The decade 5 roles appear to have higher status than at least one of the decade 4 roles, as well as higher (r) rates.

Cary Grant was studied in two films of decade 4 and one film of decade 5. Grant has a slightly lower status role in decade 4 film, *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (1947); he has a rate of 75 in the role of an artist who keeps getting into trouble with the law through no fault of his own and is put in some humiliating situations. In the other role of decade 4, *The Bishop's Wife* (1947), he plays an angel with a higher rate of 87. This second film role has virtually the same rate as his decade 5 role in *To Catch a Thief* (1954); here Grant has a rate of 88 as a reformed jewel thief, the upper echelon of criminals. The decade 5 rate increase again is linked to a higher status in comparison to one of the decade 4 roles.

For all four subjects studied in decades 4 and 5 who showed an increase rather than a decrease in rate from decade 4 to decade 5, the higher decade 5 rates are correlated with higher role status. This accounts for the reverse pattern they show in contrast to the group

pattern of maintenance and decrease of rate through time. A summary of the data for these four subjects is given in Table 21.

Table 21. Role Status of Four Cross-decade Subjects in Decades 4-5

	Jones	McGuire
decade 4 roles:	adopted orphan 24	shy orphan 34 editor's daughter 59
decade 5 roles:	wife of professional 46	secretary to famous writer 61

	Astaire	Grant
decade 4 roles:	con man 37 himself: famous dancer 41	artist with bad luck 75 angel 87
decade 5 roles:	magazine photographer 46 Hollywood producer 52	retired jewel thief 88

4.2.6 Moral Status

As mentioned in section 4.2.1 above, in the variety of female roles found in the data from a particular decade, "bad girl" roles (criminal, unfaithful, untrustworthy, or otherwise negative character) are in the higher range of (r) rates for a particular decade. There is a different kind of status that is rhotic– a status classification by morality. This status of virtue, in which "good girls" are more rhotic than "bad girls," is seen in both the earlier and later decades.

Seven "bad girl" characterizations are found in the decade 4 sample, all with (r) rates above 50, higher than the F group average rate of 44 for this decade. Actresses playing the "bad girl" roles are from both rhotic and non-rhotic backgrounds. In contrast to these roles are seven roles in the same decade in which the character is very devout, innocent, naive, or pitiable (orphans are innocent of their misfortune and low status). One of the roles, a young Quaker woman in the Old West, has the distinction of being the only F role before decade 6 found to have an (r) rate of 0. The fourteen decade 4 roles with contrasting moral status are listed in Table 22.

Table 22. Rate Differentiation by Moral Status in Decade 4 Film Roles

subject	*region*	*film*	*moral status*	*rate*
"bad girl" roles				
Tierney, Gene	2	*Leave Her to Heaven*	psychopathic murderer	90
Bacall, Lauren	2	*To Have and Have Not*	woman of mystery, pickpocket	87
Stanwyck, Barbara	2	*Double Indemnity*	husband murderer	76
Dvorak, Ann	1	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	unscrupulous nightclub singer	56
Patrick, Gail	1	*The Plainsman and the Lady*	unfaithful wife of banker	56
Hayworth, Rita	1	*Gilda*	unfaithful wife of casino owner	55
Turner, Lana	2	*The Postman Always Rings Twice*	husband murderer	51
"good girl" roles				
Crain, Jeanne	2	*Leave Her to Heaven*	orphan adopted by wealthier relatives	39
McGuire, Dorothy	2	*The Enchanted Cottage*	orphaned, shy villager	34
Jones, Jennifer	2	*Love Letters*	adopted orphan	24
Bremer, Lucille	2	*Yolanda and the Thief*	very innocent and devout young heiress	16
Temple, Shirley	2	*The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer*	naive teenager	15
Rogers, Ginger	2	*I'll Be Seeing You*	inmate wrongly imprisoned	13
Russell, Gail	2	*Angel and the Bad Man*	very innocent, devout Quaker	0

1 = non-rhotic native
2 = rhotic native

The decade 6 sample contains six "bad girl" roles, all found in the upper two-thirds of the (r) rate range. Three of these negatively portrayed female characters are paired with a positively portrayed female character in the same film. Each "bad girl" role has a rate significantly higher than the paired "good girl" role. The (r) rates of the "bad girl - good girl" pairs are given in Table 23. Native rhoticity is a factor in the first example only: Anne Bancroft's role is the only "bad girl" role played by a non-rhotic native, and that is reflected in a much higher rate for her than for the other "bad girl" roles.

The contrast in (r) rates of the two types of roles can be seen in the different linguistic behavior of one subject in two different film roles and of one subject whose role characterization within the same film changes from good to bad. Both films are from decade 6, in which the F group average rate is 21. In the first case, Ann-Margret plays a saloon girl of questionable repute in *Stagecoach* (1966) and a wholesome young writer

Table 23. "Bad Girl - Good Girl" Pairs in Decade 6

film	*"bad girl"*	*rate*	*"good girl"*	*rate*
The Graduate (1967)	Anne Bancroft	78	Katharine Ross	0
Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? (1966)	Elizabeth Taylor	38	Sandy Dennis	13
Easy Come, Easy Go (1966)	Pat Priest	11	Dodie Marshall	1

who regularly phones her parents in *The Swinger* (1966). In *Stagecoach,* the actress has an (r) rate of 24, and in *The Swinger*, her rate is only 9. An example of rate change with change in moral status is seen in the film *Valley of the Dolls* (1967), in which Patty Duke's role is transformed from a wholesome and admirable character into a hopeless drug addict. Before the character's situation deteriorates, Duke exhibits an (r) rate of 9. After the addiction has become serious, the rate rises to 29.[4]

Male romantic leads in this study are rarely "bad guys." Although there are a number of roles where M characters are depicted as law-breakers (smugglers, con men, jewel thief), these are sympathetic roles, and the characters are not untrustworthy, unfaithful, or otherwise morally negatively portrayed. There are, however, three truly "bad guy" romantic lead roles in the sample, two murderers and one person responsible for many deaths through negligence. All three subjects in these roles have rates that are at or near the top of the decade rate range for their rhoticity subcategory (rhotic native or non-rhotic native). Table 24 lists the data for these subjects, including their rate as compared to the decade average for their rhoticity subcategory and their ranking in that subcategory. Of the eight sympathetically portrayed "bad guys," those in the early decades have rates that are also near or at the top of the decade range for their rhoticity subcategory, but those in decade 7 do not. Data on these eight subjects are presented in Table A-12 in the Appendix.

[4] 42 tokens were collected from each of the two storyline sections of the film.

Table 24. Rate and Decade Range Ranking of Three "Bad Guy" Roles

subject /film	*status*	*rate & subcategory decade average*	*rank in native rhoticity subcategory*
John Garfield *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946)	murderer	87 (64)	2nd
Fred MacMurray *Double Indemnity* (1944)	murderer	31 (22)	1st
Richard Chamberlain *The Towering Inferno* (1974)	criminally negligent	22 (3)	1st

4.3 Accommodation to Rhoticity Rate of Interlocutor

When status differences cannot be correlated with a subject's divergent (r) rates (either in various film roles or within the same film), the rhoticity rate of an interlocutor often can be correlated with those differences. This explanation for divergent rate behavior will be termed *rate accommodation. Accommodation* refers to the modification of one's speech so that it is more like the speech of an interlocutor (e.g., Trudgill 1986). This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in section 4.8 below.

The (r) rates of some subjects with divergent behavior in different films of the same decade were found to be correlated with the rates of less rhotic co-stars. Three such subjects are Clark Gable, Tommy Kirk, and John Wayne. Clark Gable was studied in three films, *The Call of the Wild* (1935), *It Happened One Night* (1934), and *San Francisco* (1936). The rates in his three roles were 15, 22, and 25 respectively, and the rates of his three different female co-stars were 74, 82, and 94. Gable's rates rise and fall in connection with the rate of the particular female co-star. This is also the case with a decade 6 actor, Tommy Kirk, in *The Monkey's Uncle* (1965) and *The Ghost in the Invisible Bikini* (1966). Kirk's rates are 0 and 11 respectively, and his different female co-stars' rates are 1 and 27 respectively. Kirk is a rhotic native; his co-star in the first film is a rhotic native, and his co-star in the second film is a non-rhotic native.

John Wayne has very low (r) rates in both decades in which he was studied; in fact, he is at the lowest extreme of the range for each decade group. Yet a connection can be

detected between his rate variation and the rates of four of his F co-stars in the films *Angel and the Bad Man* (1947), *The Desert Trail* (1935), *Flame of the Barbary Coast* (1945), and *The Dawn Rider* (1935). His rates are 0, 5, 7, and 11 respectively. His various co-stars have rates of 0, 16, 65, and 69. Again it would appear that the M subject becomes more r-less under the influence of his co-star. The comparative rates of Gable, Kirk, and Wayne are illustrated in Figure 22.

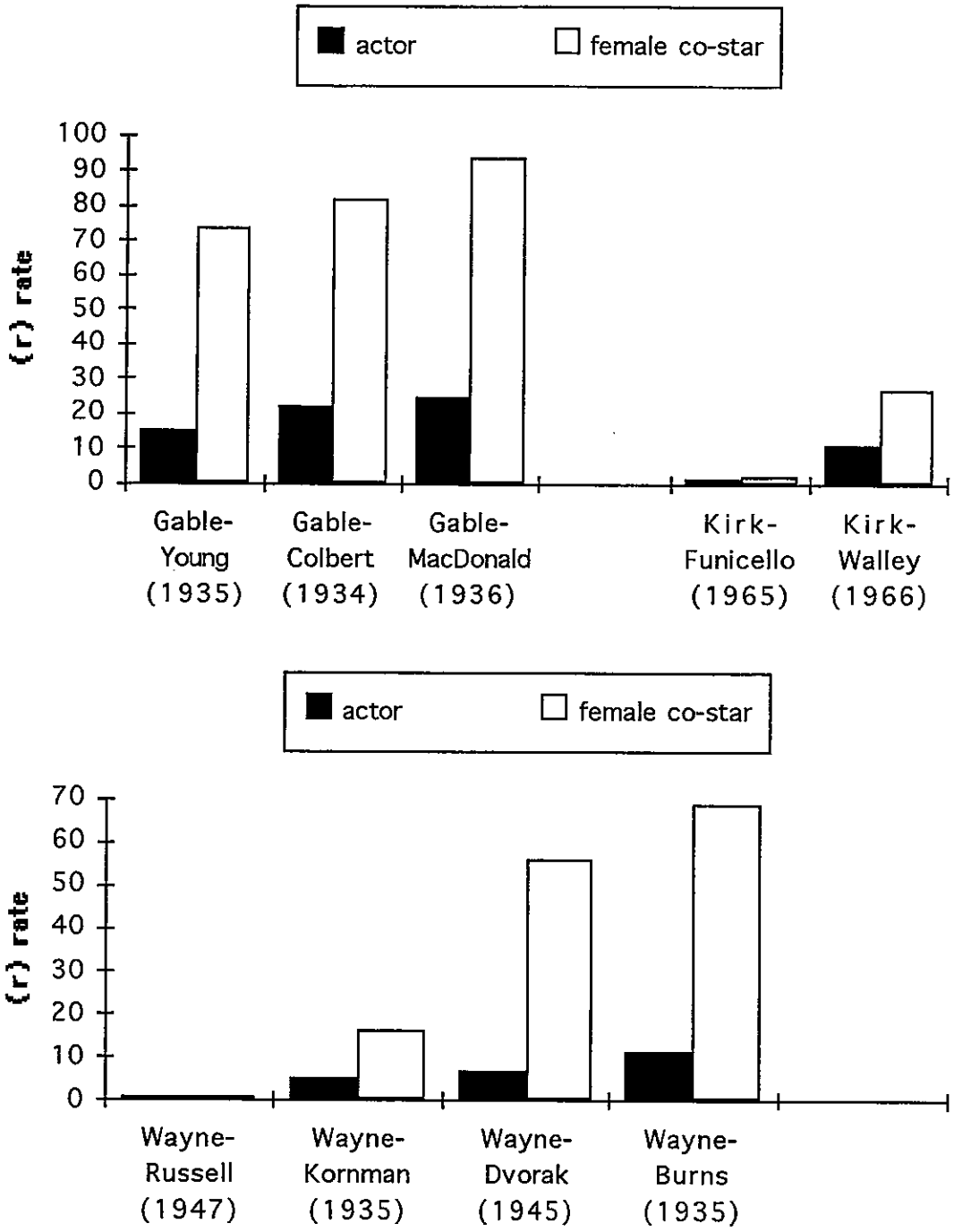
Further examples of rate accommodation are seen in subject interaction with less rhotic characters of either gender. Cary Grant, a native of rhotic Bristol, England[5], has a higher (r) rate in *The Bishop's Wife* (1947) than in *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (1947). In the first film, co-starring the 100% non-rhotic, RP-speaking British actor David Niven, Grant's rate is 87; in the second film, without any highly non-rhotic co-stars, his rate is 75. Grant himself may be the non-rhotic influence that raises Grace Kelly's rate in *To Catch a Thief* (1954) in comparison to her lower rate in *Rear Window* (1954). In the first film, Kelly's rate is 96 to Grant's 88; in the second film, Kelly's rate is 87 to James Stewart's extremely rhotic 3. (Alternatively, it may be argued that Stewart's lower rate has influenced Kelly's in *Rear Window*.)

Within the same film, some subjects were observed to change their pronunciation in convergence with rhotic or non-rhotic interlocutors, particularly if the subject in question is a native of a variably-rhotic region or has been influenced by standard British speech as part of his/her background or training. This was observed in films of the later decades, when rates for rhotic natives are quite low, and the norm has shifted in that direction. Six such cases will now be examined.

Rhotic Belfast native Stephen Boyd was studied as Raquel Welch's paired co-star in *Fantastic Voyage* (1966). The nationality of his role is American, and his speech does

[5] According to Hughes and Trudgill (1979, 47), the speech of Bristol has a strongly retroflex syllable-coda /r/.

Figure 22. M Accommodation to F Co-star's Rate



not sound Irish.[6] Though Northern Irish English is rhotic (Wells 1982), Boyd would have great familiarity with the non-rhotic prestige variety of the United Kingdom. When

[6] In the section of text collected, the subject did produce two Irish pronunciations, but the vast majority of his speech was American-accented.

speaking to non-rhotic characters (including two British-speaking roles), his rate is 37, and when speaking to rhotic characters, his rate is 22. In *The Swinger* (1966), non-rhotic native Tony Franciosa exhibits a rate of 75 in scenes with RP-speaking characters, while in scenes with rhotic characters, his rate is 55. In *Kiss Me, Stupid* (1966), rhotic native Dean Martin plays the role of a famous nightclub singer. When addressing non-rhotic males only, his rate is 17, but with others his rate drops to 0.

Katharine Houghton, a non-rhotic native, has an (r) rate of 63 when speaking to the non-rhotic co-stars of *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967). This rate is close to that of her r-less co-star Sidney Poitier (56 to her), though not as high as that of Katharine Hepburn (89), her real-life aunt, who plays the role of her mother in this film. In contrast, when Houghton speaks to the rhotic native Spencer Tracy (playing her father), whose rate is 19, her rate plummets to 9.

Playing the high-status role of intergalactic princess in *Star Wars* (1977), London-trained rhotic native Carrie Fisher accommodates her pronunciation not only to the r-lessness of fellow actors but also to their RP vowels, consonants, and intonation as well. Co-stars who play evil characters in this film have non-rhotic American or RP pronunciations; when Fisher speaks to these "bad guys" she is 94% r-less and her speech contains some characteristics of RP speech. In contrast, when speaking to the "good guys," who are mostly rhotic characters, Fisher is only 21% r-less and the hints of RP features disappear. In the sequel *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), Fisher changes her character's speech patterns further. Reprising her role as princess and leader, but with no interaction with non-rhotic evil characters, she is only 3% r-less.

In *Mother, Jugs and Speed* (1976), the linguistic interaction of five characters was studied. Two of the four M subjects are non-rhotic natives, romantic lead Harvey Keitel and character actor Allen Garfield. A third M subject, Bill Cosby, if not a non-rhotic native, most likely has a close familiarity with non-rhotic speech styles as an African American

from Philadelphia. A fourth M subject, Larry Hagman, and the F subject, Raquel Welch, are rhotic natives.

Garfield plays the role of the boss; the other subjects are his employees. He maintains the same high rate when interacting individually with all three leads (there is not enough interaction with supporting actor Hagman to establish a statistically viable rate); Garfield's rate when speaking to Keitel is 80 and when speaking to Cosby is 83. Keitel's (r) rate with Garfield as interlocutor is 64, as compared to 23 with all other men. Cosby's rate when speaking with Garfield is 17 and to all other characters is 9. Welch, with an overall (r) rate of 1, does not accommodate to the high rates of Keitel (whose rate is 47 when speaking to her) and Garfield (whose rate is 78 when speaking to her), nor to the occasional r-lessness of Cosby (9) and Hagman (7). Hagman also does not vary his (r) pronunciations in any discernible context.

Only the two M subjects with somewhat higher rhoticity rates modify their speech: Keitel and Cosby both accommodate their rate upwards closer to the rate of the very r-less Garfield, and both show lower rates when speaking to rhotic males. Garfield maintains an extremely high (r) rate typical of a character actor, even when addressing the rhotic co-stars, though he modifies his rate when interacting with the supporting cast, a phenomenon which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The above examples show that a subject's divergent rate behavior, both in different film roles and within one film, can be correlated with the (r) rate of the interlocutor. Table 25 lists the seven subjects discussed above, contrasting their (r) rates when speaking to non-rhotic characters and to rhotic characters, and showing the percent of difference between those two rates. Subjects are listed in order of the amount of difference they exhibit. The rhotic male subjects show the smallest amount of rate change by context, and the two female subjects show the largest amount.

Table 25. Rate Difference to Rhotic and Non-rhotic Interlocutor

subject	*subject's origin*	rate to interlocutor: *non-rhotic*	*rhotic*	*rate difference*
Bill Cosby	Philadelphia	17	9	8
Stephen Boyd	Belfast	37	22	15
Dean Martin	Ohio	17	0	17
Tony Franciosa	New York City	75	55	20
Harvey Keitel	Brooklyn	64	24	40
Katharine Houghton	Connecticut	63	9	54
Carrie Fisher	Los Angeles	94	21	73

4.4 Rate Change in Context of Interlocutor Gender

A startling discovery was made while tokens were being collected from male subjects. It appeared that the (r) rates of many subjects were higher when speaking to women in the films than when speaking to men, regardless of the rate of the F co-star. To test the accuracy of this impression, some M subjects were studied in more detail during the data collection process. Tokens collected for thirty M subjects were tagged according to the particular character being spoken to. In order to obtain a sufficient number of tokens for each interlocutor context, often a larger number of tokens was collected from these subjects than from other M subjects. Tokens from text spoken to all male interlocutors and to all female interlocutors were averaged separately to obtain comparative rates by interlocutor gender for each subject.

The data for twenty-five M subjects are presented in Tables 26-28 below. Of the ten subjects in decades 3-5, the time period of the non-rhotic prestige norm, seven exhibit higher rates when speaking to female characters; two have equal rates (defined as those within 5% of each other) and one has a lower rate. In decade 6, the transitional decade for the reversal of the prestige norm, two subjects have higher rates, three have equal rates, and three have lower rates. The seven subjects in decade 7 all have equal rates. Additionally, five non-rhotic natives from the later decades, not listed below, exhibit a more complex pattern in the hierarchy of rates to M and F interlocutors; these cases will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 26. Subjects Exhibiting Upward Rate Change to F Interlocutor

		M subject's (r) rate:			
film	*M subject*	*to M*	*to F*	*difference*	*F co-star's rate*
Morning Glory (1933)	Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.	58	75	+17	100
Morning Glory (1933)	Adolphe Menjou	77	85	+ 8	100
King Kong (1933)	Robert Armstrong	12	34	+22	80
King Kong (1933)	Bruce Cabot	11	41	+30	80
Gay Divorcee (1934)	Fred Astaire	81	94	+13	44
Shall We Dance? (1937)	Fred Astaire	45	66	+21	45
Funny Face (1956)	Fred Astaire	25	49	+24	99
A Touch of Blue (1965)	Sidney Poitier	57	73	+16	9
Sand Pebbles (1966)	Steve McQueen	6	14	+ 8	43

Table 27. Subjects Exhibiting No rate Change to F Interlocutor

		M subject's (r) rate:			
film	*M subject*	*to M*	*to F*	*difference*	*F co-star's rate*
To Have and Have Not (1945)	Humphrey Bogart	83	88	+5	87
Rear Window (1954)	James Stewart	3	3	0	87
Stagecoach (1966)	Alex Cord	28	33	+5	24
The Russians Are Coming (1966)	Carl Reiner	47	42	-5	7
The Great Race (1967)	Tony Curtis	67	68	+1	44
Airport 1975 (1974)	Charlton Heston	0	0	0	0
The Towering Inferno (1974)	Paul Newman	0	0	0	15
Night Moves (1975)	Gene Hackman	0	0	0	5
Futureworld (1976)	Peter Fonda	0	0	0	4
Oh, God (1977)	John Denver	0	0	0	0
Star Wars (1977)	Mark Hamill	0	0	0	51
Smokey and the Bandit (1977)	Burt Reynolds	3	5	+2	7

(Difference amounts are not statistically significant)

Table 28. Subjects Exhibiting Downward Rate Change to F Interlocutor

		M subject's (r) rate:			
film	*M subject*	*to M*	*to F*	*difference*	*F co-star's rate*
Yolanda and the Thief (1945)	Fred Astaire	49	27	-22	16
Kiss Me, Stupid (1964)	Dean Martin	17	7	-10	83 [7]
Fantastic Voyage (1966)	Stephen Boyd	28	7	-21	1
The Swinger (1966)	Tony Franciosa	66	54	-12	9

[7] This is the rate of a character role played by Kim Novak, using a stereotyped New York City accent. The data for Novak, as a character actor, was excluded from group rate calculations.

The phenomenon of rate modification by gender of interlocutor was only found in the speech of M subjects; it was not detected in the speech of F subjects. However, because it is much less common to find two F leads than two M leads in a film, there are few opportunities to study F rate change by interlocutor gender. That the phenomenon, when it occurs, is part of a subject's usual behavior is suggested by the fact that it is found in the speech of one subject studied in multiple roles, Fred Astaire (Table 26 above).

Although the (r) rate for female subjects is, on average, higher than that of male subjects until decade 6, it appears that the M subjects in this time period who show this phenomenon are not merely adjusting their rates towards that of their particular F co-stars because the F co-star's rate is sometimes higher, sometimes lower, and sometimes the same as the M subject's rate, as seen in Table 26. The data suggest a general trend of upward rate accommodation to female interlocutors until decade 7, regardless of the actual rate of the individual being addressed.

It is interesting to note that addressing an audience was also found to cause a shift in the (r) rates of subject. As seen in Table 26 above, Robert Armstrong has a rate of 34 when speaking to F co-star Fay Wray in *King Kong*, but a rate of only 12 when speaking to male characters. Additionally, however, in one scene where he is addressing a New York theater audience as an impresario, his (r) rate is 31, virtually identical to the rate he uses when addressing the F subject. Along the same lines, in decade 6, with the reversal of the norm, M subject Dean Martin (*Kiss Me Stupid*, 1966) has a rate of 17 when speaking to M subjects and a rate of 0 when addressing an audience.

An apparent counter-example to the gender accommodation pattern of increased (r) rates to female interlocutors is seen in the behavior of Fred Astaire in *Yolanda and the Thief* (1945). In this film, Astaire's (r) rate is 22 percentage points lower when speaking with his female co-star than when speaking with male characters. However, his pattern of rate difference points to accommodation to the female co-star's status as a very innocent, devout, and naive (though quite wealthy) orphan. Additionally, when he speaks to the

female co-star, he is trying to convince her that he is a very good person, whereas in scenes with men, it is acknowledged that he is merely a con man. In this way, Astaire's pattern of rate difference fits the "bad guy" pattern of higher (r) rate discussed previously.

4.5 Portrayed Regionalism

In addition to role status and interlocutor rhoticity and gender, a possible additional factor influencing a subject's (r) rate is region of origin of a subject's film character. Thirty-three F subjects and fourteen M subjects played roles with overtly specified North American regions of origin. Table A-13 in the Appendix lists those subjects along with their rate, decade ranking, and character's native region. Little correlation was found between the rhoticity of the role's purported regional origin and the subject's rhoticity in that role. Rhotic natives with low rates play characters who are from non-rhotic regions, and non-rhotic natives with higher rates play characters from rhotic regions.

Midwestern characters are often depicted by actors and actresses with high rates in decades 3-5. In this period of non-rhotic prestige, characters purporting to be natives of Iowa, for example, have rates of 90, 86, 68, and 55 , and California characters have rates of 90, 76, 62, 59, and 51. Only one explicitly Californian character, from decade 4, is played by an actress with a low rate of 6.

A few subjects do appear to have a rate correlation with portrayed regionalism. In *Valley of the Dolls* (1967), rhotic Canadian Barbara Parkins' character is from New England. Her rate is 49, far above the decade 6 average of 21. Parkins' rate is the fifth highest in that decade, 5 percentage points lower than the fourth-ranked rate of Katharine Houghton, an actual Eastern New England native (though playing a character from San Francisco). On the other hand, rhotic native Lucie Arnaz only manages a rate of 2 as a character from Maine in decade 7. In decade 3, two F roles are from Vermont. One is played by Connecticut native Katharine Hepburn with a rate of 100, and the other is played by Indianan Carole Lombard with a rate of only 55, far below the decade 3 average of 73

and lower than the rates of subjects playing roles from Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, and South Dakota. For the most part, the depiction of New Englanders was not achieved by the use of heightened (r) rates when rhotic natives were cast in those parts.

Two M non-rhotic natives show divergent rate behavior that may be linked to regional portrayal. In *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), New York native Harvey Keitel's rate as a bolo-tie-wearing redneck from the Southwest is 31 points lower than his average rate as an urban ambulance driver of unspecified regional origin in *Mother, Jugs and Speed* (1976). In addition, as mentioned in section 4.2.2, region may have been a factor in New York-bred Fred Astaire's choice to be more rhotic as a Pennsylvanian in *Shall We Dance* (1937) than in his other three roles studied in decade 3. Astaire's rate in a role explicitly specified as being from Philadelphia (to contrast with the role's pretense of being from Russia) is 32 percentage points lower than the average of his three roles of unspecified origin. The two subjects' rates compare as follows:

Astaire (decade 3)		Keitel (decade 7)	
unspecified origin (average of 3 roles)	88	unspecified origin	45
Philadelphian	56	Southwestern	14
difference	-32	*difference*	-31

It may be worth noting that the two F subject-roles in the data whose characters hail from Mexico (with no foreign accent), Lucille Bremer in *Yolanda and the Thief* (1945) and Mara Corday in *The Black Scorpion* (1957), have very low rates for their decade and gender; their rates are 16 and 18 respectively, compared to the F decade averages of 44 and 43. One could speculate that a higher rate by the actor would denote foreignness in a European direction, but a low rate would be appropriate for a character from the New World.

4.6 Emotional Intent

Some situations were observed in which subjects used varying levels of r-lessness with different interlocutors, regardless of the interlocutor's gender, (r) rate, or overt status. M subjects were seen to use a lower (r) rate in decade 3 to express lack of respect for a female character. In films from decades 6-7, subjects were observed using heightened rates when expressing hostility, comic intent, or a desire to impress, and lowered rates when expressing cautious politeness. The use of variable rates for the purpose of expressing emotion or dramatic intent or to mark relationships will be examined in this section.

In the 1933 film *Morning Glory*, the two male leads, Adolphe Menjou and Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., exhibit the gender accommodation pattern of raised rates when addressing one of the F co-stars, but not when addressing the other. Both F co-stars play actresses, and both have rates of 100. However, one of the F co-stars, Mary Duncan, plays the part of a spoiled prima donna whose acting talents Menjou's and Fairbanks' characters do not think highly of. The other F co-star, Katharine Hepburn, plays an aspiring actress who has not yet achieved stardom but holds promise and whose character is more positively portrayed than Duncan's. Table 29 shows the rates each of the M subjects uses with each F interlocutor and to M interlocutors in general. To the F interlocutor whom they do not like or respect, the M subjects use their "male" rate, while to the F interlocutor whom they do like and respect, they use a rate about 25% higher.

Table 29. Rate Variation by Specific F Interlocutor in *Morning Glory*

M subject	*to Hepburn*	*to Duncan*	*to male characters*
Adolphe Menjou	95	71	77
Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.	90	62	58

In films of decades 6 and 7, some subjects exhibit raised (r) rates when portraying anger or hostility towards an interlocutor. In *The Goodbye Girl* (1977), non-rhotic native Richard Dreyfuss is normally between 0-7% r-less, depending on the interlocutor and

context. However, in a scene where he is showing hostility towards his co-star, his rate climbs to 58. In *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), Dreyfuss has a rate of 6, excluding a scene in which his character speaks very angrily at a group of people. In this scene his rate is again 58. In *Valley of the Dolls* (1967), rhotic native Martin Milner has a rate of 22 when his character is not angry, but in a scene where he is arguing with his wife, his rate goes up to 36. In *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967), non-rhotic native Sidney Poitier has a rate of 55 when speaking to his stage father in all scenes except one in which he is expressing anger towards his father; in this scene his rate is 86. Finally, in *The Swinger* (1966), Tony Franciosa's average rate when addressing his F co-star is 57; however, in one scene where he belittles her, his rate climbs to 74.

Two additional observations must be made regarding this pattern of modified rate. In contrast to the raised rate of decades 6-7, a lowered rate was exhibited by actresses Marla Shelton in *The Stand-In* (1937) and Grace Kelly in *Rear Window* (1954) when expressing anger towards a co-star, suggesting that the intent is to modify one's speech in a direction away from the prestige norm of the time. Furthermore, expressing anger *about* something is not accompanied by the heightened (r) rate that expressing anger *towards* the interlocutor is. In one scene in *The Goodbye Girl*, Dreyfuss' character is very upset about an event and expresses this to his co-star, but without any negative feelings towards the co-star. In this scene his rate is 3, compared to a rate of 58 when hostile towards the co-star. Table 30 summarizes the data for subjects who show higher rates when expressing anger or hostility towards an interlocutor than in other emotional contexts.

Table 30. Rate Raising in Social Context of Hostility Towards Interlocutor

	emotional state:	
subject/film	*normal*	*hostile*
Franciosa, *The Swinger* (1966)	57	74
Poitier, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967)	55	86
Milner, *Valley of the Dolls* (1967)	22	36
Dreyfuss, *Close Encounters* (1977)	7	58
Dreyfuss, *The Goodbye Girl* (1977)	6	58

Other emotive contexts exist in which an actor can be observed to modify his or her (r) rate to assist in expressing certain dramatic intents. Comic effect is one such context. In *The Goodbye Girl*, Dreyfuss' usual low rate of 0-7 increases to 50 in one scene in which he is trying to be very silly. Another context is pretension of status. Ann-Margret, in *The Swinger* (1966), has a rate of 3 when her character is speaking with friends, but when speaking to prospective employers, trying to impress them, the rate is 13. Similarly, when Ray Walston's character in *Kiss Me, Stupid* (1964) is speaking to his friend, his rate is 27, but when attempting to impress a famous singer with his song-writing talents, Walston's rate climbs to 55, even though the interlocutor is played by a rhotic actor. In decade 3, Aline MacMahon (*Golddiggers of 1933*) becomes more r-less as well when feigning high status.

A lower rate is used by non-rhotic native Carl Reiner in *The Russians are Coming* (1966) to express cautious politeness. When his character's family first comes into contact with gun-wielding Russians, his rate, which averages 40, decreases to 10 when speaking to them. Later, when he has befriended them, his rate when speaking to them increases to 50. In another example of cautious, polite distance, character actor Allen Garfield uses a lower rate (55) in *Mother, Jugs and Speed* (1976) when addressing supporting actors with whom there is less contact and a higher rate (80) when addressing the three fellow leads, with whom Garfield's character has much more familiarity in the storyline.

Subjects have been shown to use rates that diverge from the norm (lower in decade 3-5, higher in decades 6 and 7) to express disrespect and anger. Use of a higher rate in both early and later decades designates feigned status and comic intent. Use of a lower rate in decades 6 and 7 shows politeness to strangers. These complex uses of heightened and lowered (r) rates to designate attitudes towards other characters merit closer examination. A number of further instances were found of divergent behavior within the same film in contexts that suggest some actors are using rhoticity levels to mark relationships and make

statements about the attitudes that their character holds towards other characters. This aspect of rhoticity will be explored in Chapter 5.

4.7 Summary

Subjects in this sample, actors and actresses in American films from the 1930s to 1970s, were found to vary their rhoticity in the social contexts of status, gender of interlocutor, rhoticity level of interlocutor, and in the dramatic portrayal of moral quality, regional type, and emotional-relational states. Although the main factors correlated with (r) rate for these subjects are time period, gender, and native rhoticity, individual differences within a group and divergent pronunciation behavior of an individual are associated with social context factors.

The first factor examined was social status. High-status roles were those of high professional, economic, or hierarchical position, and for F subjects, filial or spousal connection to those kinds of positions as well. Rates for high-status roles in the data clustered at the section of a decade's range of rates nearest the prestige norm and included famous singing, acting, or dancing stars, the wealthy, highly educated professionals such as judge and architect, and other important people (boss, owner, artist, princess). Low-status roles, those clustered farthest from the prestige norm, were showgirl, cowboy, orphan, prospector, dance hall/saloon owner, and sailor. Villains and other roles with negative portrayals were not clustered with those of low status but rather with those of high status.

In this sample, the M and F groups in decades 3 and 4 showed clustering of high- and low-status roles in the higher part and lower part, respectively, of the range of rates in that decade. The status of roles in decades 5 and 6 did not appear to be correlated with (r) rate, but for the F group in decade 7, very high status-roles were again at the top of the range. M subjects in decades 4-7 were sharply stratified by native rhoticity type rather than by role status.

However, both F and M individuals showed patterns indicating that social status is a factor in (r) rate variation in every decade. Although two-thirds of subjects studied in more than one film of the same decade were consistent in rate (within 7%), some subjects exhibited divergent rates. Often, a subjects' divergent behavior could be correlated with high-low status differences in roles of the same time period and of the adjacent periods of decades 4-5, as well as in status-change situations within the same film. In decades 3-5, high status was correlated with high (r) rate. In decade 6, higher status was still for the most part designated with a higher rather than lower (r) rate. In decade 7, attaining higher status was associated with a shift to a lower (r) rate in one example, although very high status was still associated with r-lessness, as seen by the clustering of elite types at the top of the range. R-lessness still had some prestige in decades 6 and 7.

A quality of the character type that has been termed *moral status* was found to be correlated with (r) rate as well. Characters with certain negative qualities–the criminal, the unscrupulous, or the otherwise culpable–were clustered in the decade group section with higher (r) rates, while devout, innocent, and naive role types were in the lower (r) rate section of a decade's range. M characters with criminal qualities were not always treated as "bad guy" roles; frequently such roles as smuggler and outlaw were positively portrayed and did not cluster in the non-rhotic section of a decade's rate range. Low moral status remained associated with high (r) rates during the early decades as well as the later decades.

A quite different social context was also correlated with subjects' (r) rates. Many examples were found of subjects raising and lowering their rates to accommodate to the rhoticity level of a co-star. This was detected as divergent rates for individuals either in different films or with different interlocutors in the same film. M subjects who performed with different F co-stars in different films were observed to modify their rates upward relative to the particular F co-star's higher rate. In addition, within a film, some subjects had different rates for rhotic interlocutors than for less rhotic or non-rhotic interlocutors.

These subjects tended to be those who had variable rhoticity in their native dialect or who for various reasons were familiar with such varieties.

Whether or not the F co-star's rate was higher, lower, or equal, many M subjects accommodated towards the prestige norm in film scenes containing dialogue with any female characters. M subjects in decades 3-5 frequently show higher (r) rates with F interlocutors and lower rates with M interlocutors. In decade 6, a transition period in the norm reversal, some subjects show higher rates with F interlocutors than with M interlocutors, following the old pattern (the earlier prestige norm), and some subjects show the opposite, following the new pattern of a rhotic norm and therefore using lower rates when speaking with females. Most decade 7 subjects who were observed show equal rates to F and M interlocutors; however, most decade 7 subjects have rates so low that it would not be possible for rates to go any lower to accommodate to a F interlocutor. It will be shown in chapter 5 that some non-rhotic natives with high enough rates do show gender accommodation, in a complex pattern whereby gender accommodation to F subjects, emotive intent, and rate accommodation to M subjects interact in a hierarchical scale of rates.

With three exceptions, regional portrayal was not correlated with (r) rate. For 44 of the 47 subjects who portrayed characters with overtly specified regional origins, status, interlocutor rate, and especially native rhoticity were correlated with rate, but region of film role was not. Accuracy of portrayal of regional rhoticity type was not high: frequently Western and Midwestern roles were accompanied by high (r) rates, and two Eastern New England roles played by non-New Englanders had low (r) rates for their particular decade.

Examples were seen of subjects using rate variation to assist in the expression of dramatic intent. In the use of (r) rate variation for emotional effect, both rhotic and non-rhotic natives used rate variation as part of expressing anger/hostility by modifying their rate away from the norm. Two subjects from decades 3 and 5 were observed to become more rhotic, while decade 6 and 7 subjects became more non-rhotic when expressing

hostility towards an interlocutor. Similarly, lack of respect was shown with lower rates in decade 3, while politeness to strangers was shown by lower rates in decades 6 and 7.

Other dramatic intents associated with rate changes are comic effect and feigned higher status, for which high rates of r-lessness are used in both early and late decades. If evil or moral deficiency is considered a dramatic intent as well, then moral status fits in with this category of dramatic intents that are associated with high (r) rates throughout the time period.

4.8 Discussion

The use of raised and lowered levels of rhoticity to show status, regionalism, and dramatic intent speak to an actor's attempt to create an image of a character for the viewer-listener using all the qualities associated with different styles of speech that are available to him or her. Stereotyped associations of levels of rhoticity are no doubt taken advantage of by actors whenever the opportunity arises to do so. The availability of stereotype-associated non-rhotic styles gives the actor a larger repertoire of styles to draw from in portraying a film character. Observations about these stereotypes and their use in dramatic portrayal have been made in a study of accents in American children's animated television by Dobrow and Gidney (1998). The authors found that most of the children's shows studied used stereotyped accents to portray characters as heroes, villains, or comic characters. Heroes spoke Standard English, while villains had foreign accents or r-less accents associated with New York or British speech. Comic characters, both villains and heroes, used accents associated with New York as well. Refined and elegant characters, but also effete characters, used r-less pronunciations.

In the present study as well, high-status roles, associated with refinement and elegance, were found to be less rhotic, and roles with negative moral status were also less rhotic. Less rhotic speech is associated with female speech before decade 7, and less rhotic speech is also used for comic effect. Dobrow and Gidney's (1998) findings for stereotyped

dialect use in American animated children's television shows match the findings in this study for stereotyped (r) use by actors and actresses in American film.

In films of the early decades, to evoke a higher class or status, r-less patterns were imitated by actors from rhotic and non-rhotic native regions alike, though more successfully or more willingly by women than by men. By decade 7 that usage was old-fashioned, used only for extreme high status. As the prestige norm, non-rhotic speech would have been considered the proper, appropriate speech to approximate when being polite in the early decades of this study. The practice of male actors changing their usage towards higher (r) rates when speaking to women can be compared to the male customs of removing hats, standing up, and refraining from swearing in the presence of women. This accommodation to the gender of the interlocutor is perhaps more accurately described as a dramatic intent of politeness to F interlocutors, since the M rate is not always accommodated to the rate of the actual F individual being spoken to. Rate raising for the purpose of F politeness can be seen as a generalized rule of behavior that M actors followed with all female interlocutors.

Higher (r) rates are associated with female speech. It appears that in the early decades of the study, it is more appropriate for a F subject to have a higher rate, or perhaps less important for a M subject to have a higher rate. M-F pairs of decades 3 and 5 overwhelmingly showed the M with a rate below the F, no matter how high or low the F subject's rate was. For the decade 3 pair Rogers and Astaire, the exception proves the rule. Rogers' rate is lower than the rates of most decade 3 actresses studied, rhotic and non-rhotic natives alike, and Astaire's (r) rate is unusually high for a man, likely a result of his elocution training in New York City from the age of five while being groomed for a career as a child star. His rate is usually between 39 and 45 points higher than hers, a very wide difference. It is rare in this time frame for the male subject to be more r-less than the female subject in the pair. Astaire's speech is in a category with that of female subjects, and Rogers' speech is associated with low-status female roles. There is linguistic truth to the

often quoted saying about Rogers and Astaire attributed to Katharine Hepburn that "he gives her class, and she gives him sex" (Croce 1972, 134). He needed her feminine role in the partnership to provide him with a masculine image to compensate for his unusually high-for-a-male (r) rate, and his high-status image resulting from the high (r) rate provided her with the status missing from her much more rhotic speech.

In later decades, r-lessness, at least that associated with New York, may be considered unrefined for a woman; Streisand's character moves away from it when her status rises in *A Star is Born*, and Duke's character shifts into it when her moral status declines in *Valley of the Dolls*. Chapter 3 charted the decline in the use of non-rhotic speech patterns by female subjects as a group. It was seen that by decade 6, the group average for non-rhotic native M subjects was the highest of the four subcategories, and that in decade 7 that group was the only subcategory with an average rate that can be classified as variably rhotic. M non-rhotic natives have not conformed to the rhotic norm to the degree that F non-rhotic natives have. Non-rhoticity in film speech appears on its way to becoming a male domain. R-lessness is used mainly by male actors in decade 7, with the exception of roles in which F characters are portrayed as somehow out of the ordinary in the extremes of either elite status or low status. The ambivalence about r-lessness leading to these seemingly contradictory evaluations is most likely a result of the multiple regional origins of non-rhotic speech styles used by actors, with the British-New England image of elegance and high class in sharp contrast to the New York City image of unsophisticated urban roughness or rudeness.

Non-rhotic pronunciation is associated not only with elegance, refinement, wealth, and good breeding, and in contrast, with New York-style urban toughness, but also with the image of a villain–an unscrupulous, untrustworthy, deceptive, culpable, unfaithful, or downright evil person. There is some overlap: some roles studied were both elite and criminal, or both tough and criminal. Dobrow and Gidney (1998) noted that both villains and noncomic heroes were depicted as being very intelligent in children's cartoons. This

suggests that the high-status association of r-lessness is not necessarily a contradiction of the "bad guy" status association of r-lessness. The association of negative moral status with non-rhotic speech, corroborated by Dobrow and Gidney's study on cartoon accents, is seen in the frequent occurrence in television and film drama of r-less (and British-accented) Nazis and science fiction aliens, intelligent, elite–and evil.

The flip side of non-rhotic pronunciations for bad guys (and girls) is rhotic pronunciation for good people, especially those most innocent or virtuous. Dobrow and Gidney (1998) found that cartoon heroes spoke Standard English; it is assumed they are referring to the rhotic norm. Furthermore, although child actors were not included in the data collection for the present study, it was noticed that all the child roles that appeared in the films studied were rhotic, with the exception of one evil, murdering child in *The Bad Seed* (1956) who was non-rhotic. The question of why good people should be more rhotic than bad people is an interesting one. One could speculate that r-ful speech is viewed as honest and sincere, while the r-less speech of New England and upperclass Britain, from the point of view of the r-ful majority, might be associated with artifice, pretense, and insincere sophistication (the stereotypes for r-lessness accompanied by New York City, Southeastern, or even Australian pronunciation features are no doubt much different, however).

R-lessness is used for comic effect by some of the romantic leads studied, as well as by stereotyped characters whose role types were outside the parameters of this study. Although roles studied were romantic leads and ingenues, rather than comic characters, two subjects fit into both categories: Eddie Bracken in decade 4 (*Hail the Conquering Hero* 1944) and Ray Walston in decade 6 (*Kiss Me, Stupid* 1964). Both actors have very high (r) rates; Bracken's rate, 90, is the highest M rate of an American actor in decade 4, and Walston's rate, 35, is in the top third of his decade's range of rates. In addition, stereotyped comic character actors, whose rates were calculated for purposes of comparison only, had rates much higher than any romantic leads in their gender-decade

group. In decade 6, Cliff Osmond and Kim Novak have rates of 83 and 84 in *Kiss Me, Stupid* (1964) and in decade 7, George Burns has a rate of 83 in *Oh, God* (1977). Throughout the time period studied, comic effect is associated with high (r) rates.

There are two phenomena at work in the social context factors of individual (r) variation. The less subconscious is actor intent, as described above, whereby the associations and value judgments connected with a variable's variants are exploited. The other phenomenon is sociolinguistic accommodation, a process of modifying one's speech behavior in the direction of interlocutors; this phenomenon reveals not the intent to portray a character so much as the solidarity of an actor to other actors. The subjects are accommodating as people, not as performers evoking an image through dramatic intent.

The (r) rate accommodation in film speech is an example of short-term linguistic accommodation, or what Giles (1973) called *accent convergence*, wherein differences between language varieties are reduced in face-to-face contact "to gain the receiver's approval" (Trudgill 1986: 2). That /r/ should be accommodated is due to its salience. Variables that are salient and therefore readily accommodated are forms that speakers are more aware of. Trudgill lists some characteristics of a salient variable: it is "overtly stigmatized," it is "currently involved in linguistic change," and it has variants that are "phonetically radically different" (11). The (r) variable fits these descriptions.

In addition, a variant must be easy to accommodate to. Trudgill (1986) states that it is difficult for speakers of British English (BrEng) to change their variant of the syllable coda /r/ variable to the American variant because of a phonotactic constraint : BrEng speakers have a rule restricting /r/ to prevocalic position only (16). Trudgill points out that it is easier, and more natural, for BrEng speakers to change intervocalic /t/ to a flap in accommodation situations with American English speakers (22). Since the non-rhotic native American subjects in this study are almost all speakers of variably rhotic varieties, it should be easier for them to accommodate than for BrEng speakers, since the variably rhotic Americans do not have the phonotactic constraint on /r/ that the categorically non-

rhotic BrEng speakers do. It may be more difficult for rhotic speakers to accommodate to non-rhoticity because accommodation introduces a new set of vowel phonemes to the speaker's phonology. That would account for the lower rates of rhotic natives in each decade compared to the rates of non-rhotic natives (although one could argue instead that the rhotic native subjects have lower rates because they are leading the change to the new, rhotic film speech).

Trudgill (1986) points out also that individuals differ widely in their ability to accommodate a variable to another speaker's variant accurately or consistently. In this sample, individual differences are big in every decade range and depend on the subject's ability, as well as the subject's acting training, exposure to other varieties, and other experiences. Trudgill points out that "different speakers adopt different strategies of accommodation" (30), and that people do not accommodate as readily to variants with "extra-strong salience" (38). This suggests that in decade 7, with non-rhotic varieties highly marked as non-normative, there is less likely to be accommodation towards a non-rhotic variety by rhotic speakers, while it is more likely that non-rhotic speakers will accommodate to rhotic speakers. That is indeed what was found in this study for decade 7; a look back at Figure 24 shows that the three rhotic native M subjects accommodated more mildly to non-rhotic interlocutors, while non-rhotic native subjects accommodated downwards to rhotic speakers more dramatically. That the rhotic Fisher accommodated so dramatically to the (r) rates of her "bad guy" interlocutors can be accounted for by her training and experience: she had been studying acting and speech training in London for a year and a half when she was cast in *Star Wars* (1977) at the age of 21. The influence of training and other background factors can also be seen in the rate of Richard Chamberlain (*The Towering Inferno* 1974), a rhotic native with a very high rate for his decade (22); Chamberlain studied acting with a British teacher and performed in British plays and films.

This leads to the question of how deliberately an actor is adapting his or her (r) rate to the image he or she wishes to depict for a role. Chamberlain plays a "bad guy" role and

also an elitist character; in addition, he has training and experience in a non-rhotic variety of English. It is possible that the decision to be somewhat r-less in his role in *The Towering Inferno* was his or his director's; it is also possible that Chamberlain was cast in that role because of the (r) rate he regularly exhibited in performed speech. In that case, it is the casting director who is responsible for the use of a higher-than-average level of r-lessness for that villain role. It is quite likely that villain roles and high-status roles are non-rhotic because casting directors chose non-rhotic natives for those roles, reacting to the subjects' natural speech patterns. This question can be asked about the phenomenon of lower M-rate/higher F-rate in F-M pairs as well. It was found that in decades 3 and 5, M subjects almost always had a lower rate than their paired F co-star, no matter how high the F subject's rate was. It is possible that the pairs were cast that way by casting directors who consciously or unconsciously decided that, based on comparative rhoticity levels, a certain combination of female and male actors was most appropriate linguistically to be depicted as a pair. To cast a more rhotic female lead with a less rhotic male lead in decade 3 or 5 would be comparable to casting a F-M pair with the female taller than the male, resulting in an inappropriately matched couple.

CHAPTER 5
Summary and Directions for Future Research

5.1 Summary and Discussion of Findings

The results presented in Chapters 3 and 4 describe the linguistic behavior of a specific group of speakers (North American actors and actresses middle-aged and younger) in a specific context (using performed speech in films) at a specific time (1930s to 1970s). An important assumption that was made for this study is that the individuals are behaving as a group, and that conclusions made upon observing their behavior can therefore be generalized. There are many things that the subjects have in common, things which make them a group. They have the same profession: they are actors, singer-actors, or dancer-actors. This profession unites them into one social status group, even though the subjects have a wide range of family backgrounds, from patrician to impoverished. The subjects all play similar types of roles, romantic leads and supporting roles, in contrast to the more stereotyped character roles. They are tied together by the commonness of the outside expectation of their linguistic behavior, as performer-speakers with the same perceived audience as listener.

As individuals, the subjects vary by region of origin, gender, stage/acting training and experience, age, level of ability as an actor, level of fame or celebrity, and personality. The roles they played vary by role status, purported region of origin, and personality or image, including moral character. Many of these differences were considered in designing the methodology and/or analyzing the results of this study, while a few, such as actor's ability, personality, and level of fame, were not.

Another assumption made for this study is that the performed speech of actors in the type of role specified reflects the variety of speech considered correct and appropriate–

the norm (prestige or standard)–for their audience. This reflection is not perfect. Pronunciation features are imitated or approximated only to the degree that the subject is able to produce them consistently; this means that performance is variable rather than categorical if the language behaviors are not part of the speaker's native repertoire or otherwise easily available to them. This quantitative study has sought to define the intended speech style and to explain how and why it varies both diachronically and synchronically.

In answer to the research questions asked in Chapter 2, results of the quantitative study show that the speech of some of the individual subjects is rhotic, the speech of a very few is non-rhotic, and the speech of most individuals in the study is variably rhotic. There was a wide range (distribution of frequency) of rhoticity rates among the approximately 50 actors and actresses studied in each decade group, but a cohesive pattern was evident. The rate of rhoticity was found to vary across decades, following a pattern with an identifiable direction or shape. Moreover, these patterns of change were found to differ by gender, subject's native rhoticity, and additional social factors.

A great deal of variation was seen. Analysis of the data in Chapters 3 and 4 revealed patterns for that variation. In Chapter 3 it was shown that an actor's or actress' rhoticity can vary in relation to time (the earlier the decade, the higher the rate of r-lessness), gender (the M rate is lower than the F rate until decade 6), and native dialect (in decades 4-7, higher rates are produced by subjects whose backgrounds are non-rhotic). Analysis of the data in Chapter 4 demonstrated that rhoticity can vary according to the status of the role, the gender of the interlocutor, the rhoticity rate of the co-star, the portrayed regional origin of the character (in a few cases), and the emotional-relational effect that the subject wishes to convey in the drama.

The group decade rate–the average of subjects' r-less pronunciations in each decade–decreases from fairly r-less to virtually r-ful over the five-decade period. While the actor's native rhoticity (his or her normal or formative dialect, deduced mainly from biographical information about birthplace) was a factor in the subject's rate in comparison

to others in the same decade group, the pattern of decadewise change was still in the same direction, downward. This pattern is consistent with a shift in norm from an r-less prestige norm, modeled most probably after New England speech, to a rhotic norm, the speech of the numerically larger group of speakers in North America and of the region gaining cultural ascendancy, the West.

Exceptions to this falling pattern were found in the behavior of gender and native rhoticity subcategories. The rates of F rhotic natives as a group dropped sharply between decades 3 and 4 but then were maintained in decade 5; on the other hand, M subjects' rates were maintained in decade 6. One could speculate that the cultural impact of World War II had an effect on actress' speech during 1944-47 and also that postwar cultural changes affected their speech during the 1950s as well, perhaps in the types of roles portrayed during those years and in the kind of image that actresses wished to convey or were directed to convey in their film roles. As for the maintenance of the M rate between decades 5 and 6, the average rate of rhotic natives was already so low that further decrease is not statistically significant. It was the M non-rhotic natives who, as a group, preserved their rate of r-lessness.

Rhoticity rates varied in ways that indicate the subjects were consciously or unconsciously reacting to the dramatic situations in which they considered different kinds of speech to be appropriate; in addition, they were influenced by the speech styles of their acting colleagues. Women were more r-less than men when r-lessness was the prestige norm, and more r-ful than one group of men (the non-rhotic natives) when the standard norm of r-fulness superseded the old prestige norm for most film speech situations. Men frequently accommodated their speech towards the norm when talking to women, and both genders were often influenced by the non-rhotic speech of other actors. There was also modification based on the actor's idea of the appropriate rhoticity level for a character's social status or moral qualities; in addition, there was style-shifting in the speech of some variably-rhotic subjects for different dramatic effects, such as humor and hostility.

Decade 6 appears to have been a period of transition in the use of r-lessness. Before decade 6, a shift *towards* r-lessness corresponded to a speaker's increase in status (as exemplified by *A Star is Born*, section 4.2.4) and to gender accommodation contexts, while a shift *away* from r-lessness was used to express hostility. After decade 6, the directions of the shifts were reversed. Between those time periods, in decade 6 itself, gender accommodation was accompanied by a shift either towards or away from r-lessness (both old pattern and new pattern), while hostility was expressed with a shift towards r-lessness (new pattern).

Questions will be asked regarding how this kind of speech compares to "real life" language use. The subjects studied were, after all, just pretending. For some subjects, their film speech was no doubt a reflection of their actual speech. This is probably true of non-rhotic natives, rhotic M subjects after decade 4, and F subjects after decade 6. On the other hand, subjects from regions that are not variably rhotic frequently "put on" non-rhotic pronunciation; for them, r-lessness was a convention rather than a reflection of their original native speech patterns or the speech patterns of their audience. Their film speech was a reflection of the speech they believed their audience expected of them. In that way, film speech is real speech because all speakers make linguistic decisions about how they want to come across to the listener. All speakers have a repertoire of varieties for different circumstances, and some of those varieties may differ so greatly from the forms a speaker grew up speaking or most frequently speaks that conscious effort on the part of the speaker is necessary. No doubt a great deal of speech could be described as artificial in that sense.[1]

The linguistic behavior of one decade group in this study is comparable to that of a group of non-actors who were studied in a mass-media speaking context in the same time period. Public speech of the period from 1933-38 was the topic of a study by Zimmerman,

[1] Along these lines, Labov holds that the least artificial style is the most interesting for sociolinguists to study because that form is most systematic and does not exhibit hypercorrections (1972, 208). On the other hand, it is very interesting to study the hypercorrections and irregularities in a speaker's grammar system that result from modifying one's speech to fit the audience or situation.

entitled *Radio Pronunciations: A Study of Two Hundred Educated Non-Professional Radio Speakers* (1946). The subjects were prominent, native-born Americans from a variety of regions who were not professional radio announcers or news readers but who were recorded speaking on the radio. The 159 men and 41 women were all over age 35; judging by the region of origin given, it is estimated here that 35% of the sample had non-rhotic origins. The level of formality was no doubt very high in general, and the subjects may be considered to be using performed speech in a style similar to that used for public address. All words in the first five minutes of a broadcast were recorded and transcribed. Of the 8976 words with syllable coda /r/ that were collected in total, 4077, or 45%, were transcribed by Zimmerman as r-less. Zimmerman notes that a number of subjects were inconsistent in the pronunciation of words iterated more than once, although no exact figures are given for the variable rhoticity that was found in the speech of these subjects. Zimmerman's data indicate that a group of mostly male speakers in decade 3 who were speaking in a careful interview style to a mass media audience had a group (r) rate of 45. In the present study, the decade 3 rate for all subjects was found to be 59, and for M subjects of all regional origins, 45. Zimmerman's data, which were collected mostly from male subjects, are consistent with the average (r) rate for the group of male actors in the same decade.

In Labov's 1966 study of rhoticity in New York City, the (r) rate of one group of subjects matches that of a comparable group of subjects in the present study. Labov studied the (r) rates of speakers in New York's Lower East Side as part of his investigation on (r) stratification in New York City that included the department store study referred to in Chapter 1. The average r-less rate in careful speech of upper middle class speakers aged 20-29 in Labov's study was identical to the (r) rate of decade 6 non-rhotic natives in this study (which included M and F subjects from not only New York City but also New England and the non-rhotic South). However, Labov's subjects older than age 30 showed significantly higher rates than the rates of the film actors in this study, who were aged 22-

46. Apparently in the mid 1960s the non-rhotic native film actors in this study were doing the same thing that the *young* upper middle class New York City trendsetters were doing.

Other aspects of the present study have parallels in sociolinguistic studies of real-life speech. Great variability was found among different speakers in this study. Many studies find there to be considerable differences in speakers' frequency of variants (e.g., Edwards 1986, Brown and Gilman 1960). While individual behavior may seem inconsistent, it is often patterned in certain ways that have not yet been detected. Those patterns lurking in the seemingly random variation of an individual and a group await discovery.

The results of the present study confirm the findings of Labov (1966) on the post 1940s decline of r-lessness in New York City. This study found a decrease in rates over time for both rhotic and non-rhotic natives, which indicates a shift from imitating a non-rhotic norm to imitating a rhotic norm. Labov found a reversal of the prestige form in New York City from non-rhotic to rhotic in the 1960s (1972, 290) which appeared in the casual speech of the upper middle class and the more careful styles of the lower classes as well. McDavid (1964) had found the beginnings of a shift towards rhoticity in the prestige norm in the South in the 1940s as well.

Gender differences in this study follow the same patterns seen in other studies. F subjects were found to behave quite differently from M subjects, with women using a higher frequency of occurrences of the prestige form in the early decades and a higher frequency of occurrences of the new standard form by decade 7. The many studies of gender differences in American and British English indicate a correlation of male speech with nonstandard forms (often having covert prestige) and of female speech with standard and overt prestige forms.

For the subjects in this study, speech modification occurred in the behavior of an individual subject in different social contexts. A subject's rhoticity level depended on assumed status of the character and to a lesser extent of the paired opposite-sex co-star.

Speech modification also occurred in the behavior of individuals and the group based on assumed expectations of the viewer-listener. This kind of accommodation is seen in "real life" examples as well. In addition to the classic example of New York City department store workers adopting [r] as a conscious behavior (Labov 1966; see Chapter 1), other studies can be cited. In one example, Bell found that the same New Zealand radio news readers had different pronunciations on different stations that differed in terms of the kind of audience the station drew (Bell 1991, cited in Graddol, Leith, and Swann 1996). Also, Coupland's (1984) study of the speech behavior of a travel agency assistant in Cardiff, Wales, found that the subject accommodated certain pronunciation features to individual clients to the point that, in the words of Graddol, "the assistant's pronunciations were almost as good an indicator of the social class and educational background of her clients as the pronunciations of the clients themselves" (304).

In addition to intentional pronunciation modification made to create the right image, actors in this study accommodated less consciously to each other's (r) rates, engaging in actor solidarity and not just in the accommodation of their character to a perceived norm. By doing so, they were being cooperative with each other's attempts to portray characters and tell stories as professional actors. There are numerous studies in the literature of accommodation of speakers to speakers of other varieties (e.g., Giles and Smith 1979, Trudgill 1986).

The gender accommodation phenomenon studied here is found in the behavior of subjects studied in "real life" situations as well. While studying glottal stop use and other features of the speech of Norwich, Trudgill (1986) also studied his own use of glottal stops, analyzing tape recordings of his interactions with the subjects as their interviewer. Not only had Trudgill accommodated his glottal stop rate proportionally to each subject's individual degree of variability of that feature, but he also varied his usage according to the gender of his interlocutor, using the nonstandard variant with men more frequently than with women. (The fact that two women had higher rates than he did indicates that he was

indeed accommodating to their gender and not to their glottal stop rate.) The above examples serve to illustrate that "real life" sociolinguistic phenomena were at work in the variation that was found in the linguistic behavior of subjects in this study of rhoticity in American film speech.

5.2 Shortcomings and Expansion

There are shortcomings to this study in terms of methodology, sample size, and sample selection. A number of ways exist to modify and expand the study for future research, to confirm the findings of this study, and to pursue some questions further. In addition, the body of data collected here lends itself to further analysis, and a look at some preliminary analysis provides clues as to what may be found in future research.

5.2.1 Dependent Variable

A researcher's transcription abilities can always be questioned. During the data collection process for this study, passages were played back several times in order to most accurately transcribe the variable of (r) that was heard. All phonetic realizations with any r-like constriction were assigned to the variant [r] (the choice was made to use a binary variable categorization for this study, but this could be modified in future research to include a third category of weakened rhoticity). Low sound quality of tapes of early films sometimes caused difficulty in hearing rhotic constriction, as did the occasional habit on the part of some subjects to produce weakly-articulated /r/ sounds, advocated in a prominent theater speech manual for actors to use in place of a dropped /r/ (Hobbs 1986, 23-25; see Chapter 1). Weakened rhoticity can be hard to hear; it may be mistaken for non-rhoticity sometimes and rhoticity at other times.

5.2.2 Sample

Questions may be raised about the nature of the sample. First, the randomness of the sample can be questioned since films were chosen from collections that were available,

not from the whole corpus of films ever made. Those collections were not randomly assembled; therefore, there may be a bias in the types of films that were available to choose from. Additional films featuring the same subject were deliberately chosen in order to study the subject's same-decade and cross-decade performance in different films. Second, there were differences in the type of role commonly found in different decades. In the early decades, there are more "high society" roles than in decades 6-7. A possible shortcoming is the interference of this factor in the interpretation of linguistic change. Third, the upper age limit of F and M subjects was not identical. The decision to raise the age limit of M subjects was based on the fact that men above 42 were co-starring in romantic pairings with women under 42. The upper age limit of male romantic leads was at least ten years higher than for female romantic leads. The portrayed ages of the male and female characters are generally comparable but the ages of the actors and actresses playing the characters are often not. It is not known how this discrepancy may affect the data and this study's conclusions.

In addition, the number of subjects of different categories was not equal, and the overall sample size may have been too small. The number of different M subjects was smaller than the number of F subjects because M subjects reappeared in films with different F leads. Perhaps the divergent patterns found for some gender-native rhoticity categories in the cross-decade downward change are an artifact of too small a sample. An additional shortcoming in the sample is that because native rhoticity of the subjects was not a criterion for sample selection, there are different numbers of subjects in each native rhoticity group. Moreover, the validity of conclusions may be challenged if the sample size is insufficient. Due to the amount of time required to collect a sufficient number of tokens from female subjects (who generally have far fewer lines than male co-stars), it was necessary to have a sample size of only about 25 subjects per gender per decade. One way to improve on this study would be to enlarge the sample to perhaps twice the size and equally match the number of subjects (rather than subject-roles) of F and M subjects to confirm the accuracy

of the conclusions. The sample choice for an expanded study could be guided so that there are matching numbers of rhotic and non-rhotic natives in the sample.

Another way to expand on this study would be to follow up on more subjects in multiple film roles of the same decade and/or across decades. Twenty-seven subjects were studied in films of the same decade, and twenty-four were studied across decades in this study. Because of the large amount of individual diversity of pronunciation in regards to /r/, further information about pronunciation patterns in film speech could be gained by studying more individuals who perform in different films. Particularly with M subjects it is possible to expand the number of decades in which their film-role performance can be studied, as many actors have had long film careers. The extent to which subjects modify their speech to accommodate to the next decade's trend as they age could be seen in more precise detail.

Sample categories for race and for age could be added to the sample. Since variable rhoticity is a feature of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), a sociolinguistic investigation of rhoticity with this added category should be fruitful. Films of early decades rarely have nonwhite romantic leads or ingenue roles, but more recent films might provide a sufficient number of roles to study statistically. In addition to race, the parameters of this study could be expanded to include other age groups, one for child actors under 18 and another one for subjects older than the middle category that was selected for this study. The factor of age will be discussed further in section 5.3.2 below.

5.2.3 Time

In future research, the time span of this study could be increased to include films from 1984-87 and 1994-97. However, with (r) rates so low in decade 7, it is likely that the only change to be seen is one of categorical rhoticity in all groups except M non-rhotic natives. It may well be found that r-less pronunciations, already extremely rare among F

subjects and rhotic native M subjects, have become entirely the domain of non-rhotic male actors in decades 8 and 9.

A different division of the time period might yield different results. A four-year period at the midpoint of each decade was chosen for the time focus of this study. If data from each year were analyzed separately--and many films would have to be studied for this to be statistically viable--changes might be detected that were missed by averaging the data from all four years. Data from films of 1964, for example, may show different results than data from films of 1967.

Films from the years between those years chosen here might be studied as well. It would be intriguing to see what F subjects did with their r's from 1938 to 1943 (exactly when did their rates begin to drop so drastically?), and from 1948 to 1953 (instead of a maintenance in rates for rhotic native F subjects, was there instead a further drop and then a rise?) Expansion of the time parameters could clarify questions regarding the patterns of change.

5.2.4 Role Type and Genre

For the present study, primarily romantic lead and ingenue roles were studied. Character roles were avoided because of their stereotyped nature. In an expansion of this study, the linguistic patterns associated with those stereotypes could be explored. Research can be conducted on the stereotyped speech of character types such as gangsters, villains, servants, sidekicks, and comic characters. Along with this is the possibility of establishing categories for genre as well as gender and native rhoticity to test whether certain genres are correlated with different patterns. Early Westerns, for example, appear to be populated with very rhotic characters, in contrast to other genres of film such as drama and musicals, where r-lessness is the norm. Yet, in the 1960s r-less pronunciation and stereotyped country accents are to be found in Westerns. An interesting line of research would be to

investigate the speech conventions of Westerns and other genres such as science fiction, comedy, and gangster films and how pronunciation in those genres may have changed.

5.2.5 Other Dependent Variables

Additional dependent variables await investigation in future studies of film speech. Possible additional pronunciation variables might include (wh), the voiced or voiceless glide as in *what, wheel*; (yu), the presence or absence of a glide [y] between alveolar consonant and /u/ in words like *tune, due, new*; (a), the occurrence of [ɑ] or [æ] in words such as *aunt, can't, rather*; and occurrence of [iy] or [ay] in *either, neither*. The variable (wh) as a voiceless glide is regressive and suggests stage speech imitation of conservative speech. The variable (yu), like (r), distinguishes the Midwestern and Western varieties from the conservative varieties of Northeastern and Southeastern accents. Pronunciation of words such as *aunt* with a back or central vowel points to a New England, AAVE, or RP norm as a model. Use of the less-common [ay] in *either* and *neither* also indicates a New England or RP norm as a model.

These and other variables were planned as part of the present study in addition to the variable (r); however, a low frequency of incidence precluded quantitative analysis of these variables. As tokens were collected from subjects during the data collection process, it was discovered that most of the supplemental variables did not yield enough occurrences to allow for a quantitative analysis. The search for items such as (wh), (yu), and (a) generally yielded under 6 tokens per subject, in contrast to over 60 tokens of (r). Fewer tokens still were found for *either* and *neither*; many subjects produced no tokens at all. In these cases, a different, qualitative methodology would have to be employed. An additional problem is that the pronunciation of (wh) appears to be influenced by the emotion of the subject. In the texts studied, a question asked with a (wh) word was frequently overlaid with a sigh indicative of surprise, exasperation, or other emotions, and during emotion-tinged speech an aspirated [ʍ] occurred in words such as *well* that do not belong to the

lexical category. Occurrence of [ʍ] may be a result of emotion by the speaker rather than an attempt to emulate a prestige target pronunciation.

During the course of data collection, additional features were noticed in female speech of the early decades. Many of the early actresses exhibit monophthongized mid and high tense vowels, raised non-high front vowels, barely diphthongized /ay/, /au/, and /oy/, and lax final unstressed -y. These features are most common in 1930s films and disappear soon after. A further study of American film speech could investigate these features of the vowel phonology of early films.

5.3 Future Directions: A Closer Look

More types of patterns no doubt exist in the variation found in variably-rhotic behavior. The data collected for this study provide hints as to what can be found in future related research. Possible patterns are found in the behavior exhibited by British actors playing American film roles, by the older subjects in the sample, and by variably rhotic subjects using affective style-shifting. In addition to these sociolinguistic factors, there is an indication that phonological factors influence the choice of the (r) variants in discernible ways.

5.3.1 British Accommodation

The linguistic modification made by speakers of British English playing American film roles is interesting for its contribution to the theory of sociolinguistic accommodation. Trudgill states that shifting from non-rhotic to rhotic pronunciation is difficult due to phonotactic constraints (1986, 16). A study of British actors, who presumably have a very strong interest in changing their speech for the pretense of a film role, might reveal interesting constraints on the accuracy and success with which they are able to make the modification. In this study, six subjects in the sample who are native speakers of British varieties of English were studied for purposes of comparison. All played roles that are

American or unmarked for nationality. Following is a brief description of how they behave in their (r) variable choices compared to their North American colleagues.

1. Leslie Howard, born in London, England, came to the US at age 39 for his first Hollywood film; he worked as an actor in both countries. His rate in the role of a banker who has been put in charge of a film company in *The Stand-In* (1937) is 100. His rate is much higher than the M decade 3 average rate of 45; his rank is 1. He does not adapt his (r) rate or any of his other phonology for this role.

2. Ray Milland, born in Neat, Wales, came to the U.S. at age 23. His rate as an alcoholic writer in *The Lost Weekend* (1945) is 92, much higher than the M decade 4 rate of 42; his rank is 1. He does not adapt his r rate, but his vowel and consonant phonology and intonation are American. He sounds like a non-rhotic American.

3. Cary Grant, born to a lower class family in Bristol, England (rhotic native dialect) came to the U.S. at age 16; he returned briefly to England to perform but then came back to the U.S. permanently. In roles as a painter in *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (1947) and as an angel in *The Bishop's Wife* (1947), his rates are 75 and 87, much higher than the male decade 4 average of 42; his ranks are second and fourth. In decade 5, his rate as a reformed jewel thief in *To Catch a Thief* (1954) is 88, much higher than the M decade 5 average of 23; his rank in decade 5 is 1. Much of his phonology was adapted to sound American.

4. Audrey Hepburn, of Belgian-English nationality, came to the U.S. at age 24. Her rate as a New York bookstore worker-turned-fashion model in *Funny Face* (1956) is 99, much higher than the F decade 5 average of 43; her rank is 1. Her phonology is a mixture of American and British features.

5. Stephen Boyd, born in Belfast, Northern Ireland (rhotic native dialect), came to the U.S. at age 18. His rate in the role of an American communications expert in *Fantastic Voyage* (1966) is 28, which is close to the M decade 6 average of 24; his rank is ninth out of 24. His phonology and intonation are American, with rare exceptions.

6. Angela Lansbury, born in London, England, came to the U.S. at age 15 to study acting in New York. Her rate in the role of a widow from Pennsylvania in *Dear Heart* (1965) is 19, just under the F decade 6 average of 21; her rank is thirteenth out of 28. Her phonemes and intonation patterns are American.

Questions can be asked about the extent to which speakers of British English are able or willing to modify their speech when playing American or unmarked roles in American films. Milland, Hepburn, and Grant have higher (r) rates than most or all American subjects studied in those decades, although the three have adjusted other aspects of their phonology towards an American norm. One possible explanation for their high rates is that there is little need on their part to adjust their (r) rate downwards to rhotic American standards because at this time actresses and some actors are still aiming for a non-rhotic norm. Another possible explanation for their high rates may be a lack of ability to shift to rhoticity. Of the four U.K. subjects studied in decades 3-5, Grant makes the biggest shift towards the rhoticity level of his same-gender American colleagues; his early age of arrival in the U.S. and his lower-class Bristol origins may be factors. In decade 6, Boyd and Lansbury are able to fit in to the group, with rates equal to the decade average. Lansbury's gender and early experience with American English and Boyd's rhotic background are likely factors in this. A larger sample, with categories of gender, time period, native rhoticity, and age at time of first American work/training experience, would be able to provide interesting information about the nature of British accommodation to American speech in film.

5.3.2 The Age Factor

The criterion of age was not intended to be part of this study. Within the age parameters selected for the subjects (18-42 for women, 18-56 for men), no correlations to (r) rate were found for subcategories of those age groups. However, there were seven older subjects included in this study, mostly for reasons of comparison across decade. Though the sample size is far too small to draw conclusions from, the speech of the seven older subjects in this study hint at what might be seen in a study with a larger sample from that age group.

Some of the older subjects have very high rates for their decade. In decade 5, one M subject above the age parameters set was studied, 63-year-old rhotic native Clifton Webb, with a rate of 77; his rate is higher than the first-ranked qualifying M subject, 29-year-old non-rhotic native Tony Curtis, with a rate of 67. In decade 6, two F subjects older than the qualifying age parameters have rates ranked in the top four of the 30 female subjects: non-rhotic natives Katharine Hepburn and Susan Hayward, ages 60 and 49, are first and third, with rates of 89 and 59; Anne Bancroft and Katharine Houghton, ages 36 and 22, are second and fourth, with rates of 78 and 54. The two Hartford, Connecticut natives, Hepburn and Houghton, make a fascinating pair to contrast in the film in which they appear together, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967). Of the real-life aunt-niece pair, Hepburn has a rate of 89, higher than anything else in that decade. Her niece Houghton, 38 years younger than Hepburn, has an average rate of 55 and a rate of 63 to non-rhotic interlocutors. Their regional origin and family background are the same; the difference in age appears to be the explanation for their 26-point difference in (r) rate.

The older subjects in this sample are more likely to have been stage-trained in the non-rhotic pronunciation of *Good Speech*, which was previously taught to actors (see Chapter 1). That is indeed the case with Clifton Webb. On the other hand, some older subjects exhibit much more rhotic pronunciation. In decade 7, 69-year-old Myrna Loy has

a rate of 7 and 55 year-old Jennifer Jones has a rate of 3; these rates are in the middle of the frequency distribution, significantly below the highest qualifying rate of 19.

Statistics for two of the older subjects lead to ambiguous interpretations. In decade 6, 67-year-old Spencer Tracy has a low rate of 19, compared to the highest qualifying M rate of 69. In fact, his rate in decade 6 is unchanged from his rate in decade 3; in decade 3 that makes him the fifth-lowest ranked in terms of (r) rate, while in decade 6 his is the second highest rate of a rhotic-native male.[2] Seventy-five-year-old Fred Astaire has the third highest rate in decade 7, at 28, but this is far below the first- and second-ranked rates of 66 and 45 for two qualifying subjects aged 37 and 33 and a substantial drop from his decade 3 average of 80. Astaire has changed with the times; Tracy has not.

Although Tracy's rate is unchanged from decade 3 to 6, Hepburn, Hayward, Loy, Jones, and Astaire all change their rates downwards as the decades progress, some (the rhotic natives) more dramatically than others. The rates of the three rhotic natives, Tracy, Loy, and Jones, approach the rates of younger rhotic natives in their decade. Astaire, from a Nebraska family that moved to New York City, likely shows lingering r-lessness in decade 7 preserved from his child-performer training in New York some 70 years previously.

Age-stratified rates will certainly be found in the earlier decades (3-5). In this sample, there are no older subjects from that time period, with the exception of Webb, whose rate of 77 is unusually high for a rhotic native in decade 5. It is the author's impression that the speech of older speakers in films of decades 3-5 was much more r-less than the speech of younger speakers, particularly among actresses. In addition, roles played by children were categorically rhotic during the entire period, with the exception of one variably rhotic child playing an evil murderess. Further study would help to define the patterns of rhoticity in film speech correlated with age.

---

[2] Tracy's rate maintenance corresponds to the assumption in sociolinguistics that people do not ordinarily change their grammar in the course of their lives. However, in this study, most F subjects and many M subjects exhibit significant change in their performed speech across decades, as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.7. This speaks to the difference between performed speech and spontaneous speech.

5.3.3 Affective Style-Shifting

Style-shifting to mark emotional and relational states was found in the speech of some variably rhotic subjects whose film interactions were studied in great detail. A further look at this stylistic variation is revealing and suggests a fruitful avenue of future study. In a number of films examined in decades 6 and 7, several different levels of rhoticity are used by one speaker in different contexts, and a speaker's rate variation appears to be linked in a complex fashion with factors in the speaker's portrayed attitude towards the character-listener and in the speaker's shifts in mood or emotion. Factors include hostility, distance, politeness, respect, familiarity, solidarity, familial bond, friendship, and intimacy. Two examples of role depictions with scaled affective r-lessness are given below in Table 31. The subjects in these two film roles are male non-rhotic natives from decade 6 .

Table 31. Scaled Affective Rates of Two Subjects in Decade 6

Sidney Poitier, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967)

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to his father, angry scene only	19/22	86
to fiancée's father (rhotic; rate is 19)	27/42	64
to non-rhotic fiancée	13/23	56
to his father, excluding angry scene	16/29	55
to his mother	6/15	40

Tony Franciosa, *The Swinger* (1966)

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to RP-speaking boss and boss' daughter	24/32	75
to rhotic males	21/32	66
to his aunt	18/36	50
to F character, falling in love	6/18	33
to F stranger upon first meeting	2/18	11

These examples show a hierarchy of rates for specific relational contexts in the films' storylines, in addition to showing the patterns of (r) rate accommodation and (post-norm reversal) gender accommodation. This pattern of variation for specific relational contexts bears a striking resemblance to another pattern of complex social usage of two

variants used to mark the speaker's relationship and attitude towards the listener, that of the use of second person pronouns *thou* and *you* in Late Middle and Early Modern English. A search for parallels in the social usage, particularly as used in Early Modern English (EMdE) drama, can illuminate social motivations behind the variation in rhoticity in late twentieth century film speech. Following is a brief summary of the social history of *thou* and *you* as they relate to the present topic.[3]

Originally a distinction between singular (*thou*) and plural (*ye/you*), the two pronouns acquired social meaning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on the model of French. The plural form *ye/you* began to be used as an innovative singular polite form, and the singular *thou* acquired social meanings linked to both intimacy and contempt. *You* continued to gain currency and took over the uses of *thou*, until by 1600 or perhaps earlier, *you* became the neutral form and use of *thou* in the standard language was highly marked and generally considered insulting. Stylistic variation of *thou* and *you* continued as a convention in Elizabethan and Jacobean theater (and even occasionally in Restoration comedy) to mark the speaker's relationships and attitudes towards the listener. Since the late seventeenth century *thou/thee* has become restricted to Biblical, Quaker, archaic, and dialect usage. Listed below are social meanings associated with the two pronouns in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theater English. The usage is complex: the same form can be used to express friendship and hostility, and both forms can be used to express distance.

Thou in this time period is a low prestige form. Its use as the second person singular pronoun is old, and during the time in question it is being replaced by the high prestige form *you*. Older meanings carried over include positive emotions to the addressee: intimacy, familiarity, affection. When reciprocal, use of *thou* shows solidarity with the addressee; when nonreciprocal, use indicates inferiority of the addressee. As late as the

[3] Information was synthesized from Görlach 1978, Barber 1976, Williams 1992, Jespersen 1982, Graddol 1996, and Brown and Gilman 1960.

Restoration period, it is used to express male camaraderie. A very frequent theatrical use of *thou* is to express negative emotions towards the addressee: lack of esteem, insult, hostility, anger, contempt, distrust, wheedling, and unfriendly distance.

You in this time period is a high prestige form. Its use as second person singular is relatively new. Its older meanings include extreme politeness and deference, having been used by and for those with high status, wealth, and elegance. It had been used by upper class to equals, and as a generalized and unmarked form in this period it is used with both equals and unequals to show politeness and respect. It is the new form for expressing affection to friends and family, as well as politeness to the opposite sex. It is used to show that the addressee is a stranger. It signifies estrangement, but also formality and polite distance. [4]

Though different in some details, the usage patterns for *thou* and *you* are similar to the non-rhotic/rhotic pattern used by variably rhotic subjects for different dramatic contexts. Social contexts for choice of one style or the other are comparable. In both cases, a new prestige norm is pushing out an old norm in general usage, and since both variants are still in use, they have taken on socially differentiated meaning. In the case of actor rhoticity levels, both r-less and r-ful styles are available to the speaker, so the variants need not be synonymous in usage. Poitier (*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* 1967) and Franciosa (*The Swinger* 1966) are taking advantage of the ability to express social meaning with style alternatives.

Aspects of non-rhotic usage (high rates) resemble usage of *thou*, and aspects of rhotic usage (low rates) resemble usage of *you*. Using the contexts of *thou* and *you* usage as a guide, an analysis can be made of the behavior of the subjects in this study. In the first example above, Poitier's highest rates show not only anger towards the character's father but also hostility and unfriendly distance towards the fiancée's father (who is opposed to

[4] To illustrate, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Ophelia is addressed with the respectful *you* when Hamlet says, "Lady, shall I lie in your lap?" [3.2.114], but in a passage tinged with strong emotion, Hamlet switches to *thou*: "Get thee to a nunnery! Why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?" [3.1.131]

their marriage), although outward hostility is not otherwise expressed to the fiancée's father. A lower rate is used with his fiancée as well as to his father. The lowest rate is reserved for his mother, who favors the marriage. Poitier's character uses lower rates for his own family, showing respectful affection, with his mother as the recipient of most polite expression of affection due to her gender.

In the second example above, Franciosa's character exhibits (r) rate accommodation to the RP-speaking characters, but also M solidarity (high rate) to the rhotic male characters. His lower rates to his aunt and F love interest show respectful familial affection and a more intimate affection, at the rhotic politeness level accorded female interlocutors. His lowest rate is for the polite distance accorded to strangers. A scale of contexts similar to those for the second person pronouns can be theorized for rhoticity levels. Expressions of hostility or unfriendliness correspond to the highest rates; next are the relational expressions of male solidarity and friendship, which are not as high on the scale of r-lessness. Even lower on the scale (and now in *you* territory) are familial respect, friendship/politeness to women, and politeness to strangers, all of which are marked by lower rates.

Further examples from decades 6 and 7 can be analyzed using this system as well. Seven such examples are presented here.[5] In *The Swinger* (1966), non-rhotic native Tony Franciosa plays the role of a magazine photographer looking for a sensational personality to cover. His character's (future) female love-interest, a writer, decides to pretend that she is morally degenerate so that her works will get published in the magazine. Franciosa's (r) rates go up and down in different scenes with her, as his character's attitude towards/relationship with the F character changes. Table 32 describes these scenes and gives the actor's (r) rate in each one.

---

[5] Many tokens were collected for these subjects in order to obtain a large enough database for statistical viability in all the contexts. For example, 130 tokens were collected for Poitier, 152 for Reiner, 160 for Dreyfuss, and 242 for Franciosa. Nevertheless, it was not possible to obtain equal numbers of tokens for all contexts because the amount of text spoken in each context varies.

Table 32. Affective Style-shifting by Franciosa to F Co-star in *The Swinger*

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
strangers, at first meeting, in official capacity	2/18	11
practically strangers, putting her down	17/23	74
convinced she is morally degenerate	12/13	92
trying firmly but gently to reform her; falling in love	6/18	33
trying not to fall in love with her	8/10	80
having discovered she is only pretending to be a "bad girl"	2/10	20
going along with her ruse	9/20	45

Franciosa's rates coincide with his character's feelings towards his co-star's character. His higher rates signify lack of respect and negative distance, and his lower rates signify restored respect and affection. Franciosa's lowest rate is one of polite distance to the character as a stranger at the beginning of the story. At the end of the story, going along with her "bad girl" ruse, his rate is rhotically halfhearted, as he is pretending to be at one pole but is really at the other.

Various contextual factors are also at work in the varying (r) rates of non-rhotic character actor Allen Garfield. In *Mother, Jugs and Speed* (1976), Garfield does not accommodate his very high r-rate downwards when addressing the F lead character, who plays his employee; nor does he adjust his rate downwards to accommodate to the rhoticity of a M lead who has a much lower rate (although that character, being his employee, does accommodate his rate upwards to his boss' rate). However, Garfield has a lower rate when addressing characters of the supporting cast. An interpretation of this difference is that his character is showing polite distance to the characters who are not leading roles, with whom he is much less familiar. His confrontational relationship with the three lead characters and his position as their boss (paralleling the somewhat impolite use of *thou* to inferiors by high-status Elizabethan characters) are reasons for his high rate when speaking to them. Garfield's scale of rates is shown in Table 33.

Table 33. Affective Style-shifting by Garfield in *Mother, Jugs and Speed*

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to non-rhotic lead male (Keitel)	24/30	80
to more rhotic lead male (Cosby)	25/30	83
to rhotic lead female (Welch)	28/39	78
to rhotic supporting actors	27/49	55

Polite distance to strangers is also seen in the following example. When the character played by non-rhotic native Carl Reiner in *The Russians Are Coming* (1966) first meets a group of shipwrecked, armed Russians, there is fear and tension, but Reiner's character wishes to avoid a conflict. His rate when speaking to them is very low, indicating politeness to strangers. Later in the film's storyline, he befriends them, and his rate is the higher one of solidarity/male friendship. His rate when speaking to his wife and their teenage baby-sitter is somewhat lower than that, which demonstrates the politeness level of a familiar relationship to women. On the other hand, in a comical scene with an older female stranger to whom Reiner should use a low rate (according to the pattern), a high rate is used instead to express the comic nature of the situation. Reiner's scale of rates in this film is shown in Table 34.

Table 34. Affective Style-shifting by Reiner in *The Russians Are Coming*

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to Russians at first, being very cautious	3/29	10
to wife and baby-sitter	15/36	42
to older woman in comic situation	11/22	50
to Russians later in film, having become friends	18/35	51

Rhotic native Dean Martin takes advantage of the affective possibilities of rhoticity style-shifting to express his character's attitudes in *Kiss Me, Stupid* (1966). He shows rhotic friendliness and respect to his audience with his rate of 0 (politeness to strangers), but he shows unfriendliness to two M characters with whom he does not wish to interact by using a rate of 17, which although low for a non-rhotic native actor is high for a rhotic

native. When a female character is present along with one of the disliked M characters, Martin's rate is at an intermediate level of 7. This adjustment in his rate shows female politeness to her. Table 35 summarizes this information.

Table 35. Affective Style-shifting by Martin in *Kiss Me, Stupid*

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to two non-rhotic male strangers, disliked	6/35	17
to non-rhotic male and non-rhotic female strangers	2/28	7
to Las Vegas audience	0/18	0

Politeness, hostility, friendship, comic intent, and romantic friendship are all factors in Richard Dreyfuss' varying levels of rhoticity in *The Goodbye Girl* (1977). In a pattern similar to that of Franciosa, Dreyfuss has a low rate when first making the acquaintance of his character's love interest. Then in a scene with her in which he is hostile, his rate climbs quite high. When the two characters are friends, and then intimates, his rate is very low. In contrast to this is a slightly higher rate when addressing M characters (male solidarity), equivalent to his politeness-to-strangers rate, and a very high rate for comic effect in one scene. Table 36 details these contexts, listed in order of chronological occurrence in the story line.

Table 36. Affective Style-shifting by Dreyfuss in *The Goodbye Girl*

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to F co-star		
strangers, at first meeting, being polite	1/19	6
practically strangers, being hostile	18/31	58
becoming friends: forlorn and drunk	1/31	3
having an earnest conversation	0/16	0
acting silly	7/14	50
being romantic	0/23	0
to men	2/27	7

Two female subjects will be discussed as final examples of affective rhoticity style-shifting. Although both are from rhotic backgrounds, they exhibit variable rhoticity. In

decade 6, Canadian Barbara Parkins plays a character from New England in *Valley of the Dolls* (1967). She sets up a regional type at the beginning of the film, using a very high rate to narrate the prologue, but she does not follow through as carefully later in the film. In addition to high rates due to portrayed region and rate accommodation, Parkins shows two lower rates in the context of characters who are friends. The rate when speaking to a male friend is higher than the rate used with female friends. Apparently the context of F politeness (and perhaps male solidarity) is applicable to the speech of a female subject as well.

In the other example of F style-shifting, Carrie Fisher shows rate accommodation to the extreme r-lessness of evil characters in *Star Wars* (1977), as discussed in Chapter 4. However, an additional factor in her very large rate difference between two groups of interlocutors, the enemies and the friends, may be the attitude her character has towards each group: with a high rate, Fisher expresses hostility to the "bad guys" and with a lower rate, friendship to the "good guys" who have come to rescue her . Table 37 lists the subjects' (r) rates for each context described.

Table 37. Affective Style-shifting by Two F Subjects of Decades 6-7

Barbara Parkins, *Valley of the Dolls* (1967)

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to non-rhotic men	12/16	75
narrating at beginning of film, introducing herself as a New Englander	29/41	71
to boyfriend	18/40	45
to women	12/30	30

Carrie Fisher, *Star Wars* (1977)

dramatic context	*tokens*	*rate*
to the bad guys	29/31	94
to the good guys	9/43	21

For the examples given above, the complex differentiation of meaning in the use of different levels of rhoticity closely resembles that of Renaissance English second person

pronoun usage. Using the Early Modern English theater usage contexts of *thou* and *you* as a model, a scale of contexts can be made from the above film speech data for rhotic and non-rhotic speech style shifting of variably rhotic actors in decades 6 and 7. This scale is presented in Table 38.

Table 38. Rhoticity Scale for Affective Style-shifting in Decades 6-7

emotional-relational contexts
(in order of high to low relative (r) rates):
1. hostility
2. unfriendly distance
3. male solidarity
4. polite distance, female respect
5. familial respect, intimacy
6. politeness to strangers

Though the historical situations are not identical, many characteristics of the two variables are similar. EMdE *thou* was highly marked; so is non-rhotic speech in modern mainstream America. A character's usage in EMdE drama was not consistent but variable; since *you* was the unmarked form, actors could use *thou* only a percentage of the time and still give the effect desired. The use of rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciations by some modern actors is also variable. Contexts for the use of each item are very similar. Ambiguity exists in both situations: using *thou* in 1570, or a high (r) rate in 1970, can indicate either friendly solidarity or insulting hostility. To explore that parallel and to see whether there are generalizable patterns for sociolinguistic variation, more such films can be investigated and added to the ten examples presented above.

5.3.4 Phonological Considerations

In this study, only the dimensions of variation across time and in certain sociolinguistic contexts were examined as factors in the patterns of rhoticity behavior in American film speech. However, there are certainly phonological factors available to investigate as well. One factor is the position of (r) in a word. In Wells' description of

rhoticity in accents of English, he discusses a restricted version of a rule for non-rhotic pronunciation that he calls *R Dropping* (1982, 221). He states, "It is not uncommon for R Dropping to have applied preconsonantally but not finally." Similarly, word-final position was the more likely environment for Labov's (1966) surreptitiously observed department store subjects to exhibit the prestige pronunciation [r] in 1960s New York City.

The actors and actresses in this study, however, favor the word-final position for non-rhotic pronunciation during decade 6. Data for this decade show that the percentage of non-rhotic pronunciations compared to the total number of tokens collected is significantly higher than the percentage of word-final non-rhotic pronunciations for both gender groups, although in other decades the difference is slight. There is an intriguing mystery to unravel in the data for this study. The decade averages per gender for preconsonantal (/_C) and word-final (/_#) environments, shown in Table 39, indicate that the reason why the M decade average does not fall between decades 5 and 6 is that M subjects are producing a much higher number of non-rhotic pronunciations in decade 6 than in decade 5 *in word-final position only.* Non-rhotic pronunciation in preconsonantal position, on the other hand, decreases in frequency, following the pattern of rate decrease observed for the process of change in general. The actors using performed speech are doing something that is inconsistent with the tendency described by Labov (1966) and Wells (1982) for "real" language. Interestingly, a similar inconsistency between performed and spontaneous speech was found in a study of copula variation in AAVE film speech (Wilkerson 1999). Although the general pattern of use by the film actors examined in Wilkerson's study was found to reflect the patterns of "real" language, there were some discrepancies in the performed speech which may be attributable to stereotyping.

Another environmental conditioning factor in the pattern of rhoticity behavior is the quality and stress of the vowel preceding syllable coda (r). Wells observes that in variably-rhotic varieties of English, the /r/ is often retained after a stressed central vowel and "perhaps also in weak syllables" (221). Zimmerman's data on radio speech included

Table 39. Decade Averages per Gender by Phonological Environment

	Female subjects			Male subjects		
decade	*/_C*	*/_#*	*difference*	*/_C*	*/_#*	*difference*
3	67	71	+4	50	46	-4
4	42	45	+3	46	44	-2
5	48	50	+2	27	28	+1
6	20	28	**+8**	20	32	**+12**
7	7	7	0	12	13	+1

(statistically significant differences are indicated in boldface)

different environments of syllable coda /r/, depending on the quality and stress of the vowel preceding the /r/ (1946). A calculation of Zimmerman's raw data yields moderately different percentages of rhotic pronunciation in different environments. For example, after a stressed central vowel, the average r-less rate of her subjects as a group is 42; after unstressed central vowels, the rate is 46; and after a stressed /ɑ/, the rate is 48. This is consistent with Wells' observation.

The 18,483 tokens of (r) collected for the present study await investigation of variation by phonological environment. A look at the data from two F subjects of decade 3, one a rhotic native and the other a non-rhotic native, provides a glimpse at what is available to investigate. Non-rhotic native Joan Blondell and rhotic native Ginger Rogers displayed rates of 61 and 53 in the films in which their rates were highest (*The Stand-In* 1937 and *Top Hat* 1935). When the tokens are divided into subcategories by phonological environment, the influence of the different environments on the two subjects' choice of (r) variants can be seen. Both subjects usually have rhotic pronunciations after a stressed central vowel; in fact, Rogers appears to be unable to produce any non-rhotic tokens at all in that environment. This behavior conforms to the real language tendency to preserve /r/ after a stressed central vowel in variably rhotic dialects. Looking further, it is seen that both subjects are very likely to have a non-rhotic pronunciation after other stressed vowels. However, their behavior is quite divergent with respect to words containing an unstressed

central vowel + /r/ combination. Rogers is not nearly as likely (or able) to produce a non-rhotic unstressed central V as Blondell is. The subjects' rates are presented in Table 40.

Table 40. Phonologically Conditioned Rates for Two Subjects in Decade 3

subject / birthplace:	Joan Blondell New York City	Ginger Rogers Independence, MO
r-lessness in specific environments		
after stressed central V	15%	0%
after unstressed central V	73%	35%
after other stressed V	63%	65%

The environment in which the two subjects' behavior is most similar is after a stressed non-central vowel. It is apparently easiest for Rogers to imitate non-rhotic speech in words that have "normal" vowels where she can more easily separate the V from the C and leave out the C; it is more difficult for her to substitute an entirely different vowel quality from the one in her native phonology (i.e., the r-colored central vowels), although that is apparently easier to do when the syllable is unstressed. It would be interesting to investigate the question of "difficult" and "easy" environments for rhotic speakers who change their pronunciation in situations of accommodation or imitation of non-rhotic varieties. A list of syllable coda /r/ environments to investigate may include the following: after an unstressed central vowel, after a stressed central vowel, after other stressed vowels (as a category or separately), in a syllable coda cluster (as in *bark*), word internally at the end of a syllable (as in *bargain*), word finally before a vowel (for linking-r avoidance), word finally before a pause, and word finally before a consonant-initial word (as in *hire them*). With regards to the last-mentioned environment, the class of consonant in the following word should be taken into consideration, as it appeared to influence the pronunciation of the subjects in this study. A non-rhotic pronunciation of a word-final /r/ often appeared in the speech of otherwise mostly rhotic subjects when the following word began with a glide.

Certain lexical items appeared to be more frequently non-rhotic than rhotic in pronunciation. These include terms of address such as *mother, darling, doctor, mister,* and first and last names, and some frequently occurring words in actress' lines, such as *wonderful, marvelous, (good) morning, understand,* and *remember.* An investigation of lexically conditioned rhoticity variation would reveal what kinds of words are highly marked and therefore more likely to be successfully imitated or changed in sociolinguistic accommodation situations, both for the rhotic speaker attempting to drop 'r's and for the non-rhotic speaker attempting to add them.

5.4 Conclusion

The performed speech of actors, though more artificial than spontaneous speech, is comparable to the careful speech styles of other speakers studied by sociolinguists. The subjects in this study behaved in ways similar to subjects in other studies. Rhoticity rates of subjects studied by Zimmerman and Labov were equivalent to those of comparable groups in this study. The change through time indicated by the decrease in r-lessness confirms the findings of Labov, McDavid, and others that the prestige norm has shifted from non-rhotic to rhotic pronunciation since the 1930s. Other sociolinguistic studies parallel findings here for variation by social context, for example, Trudgill's discovery of gender accommodation in his own speech as a fieldworker in Norwich.

The methodology of this study contains a few shortcomings, and improvements on and expansions of the study include enlarging the sample size and balancing numbers of subjects in subcategories. Expanding the time frame of the study and the types of subjects studied (e.g., by age or role type) are additional possibilities for further research. Preliminary analysis of the data found in this study indicate some avenues for future research which may be found in further study of four topics: British accommodation to the American norm, the factor of age, the mechanism of affective style-shifting, and phonological conditioning of variation.

APPENDIX I

Figure A-1. Comparative Rates of F-M Pairs in Decade 3

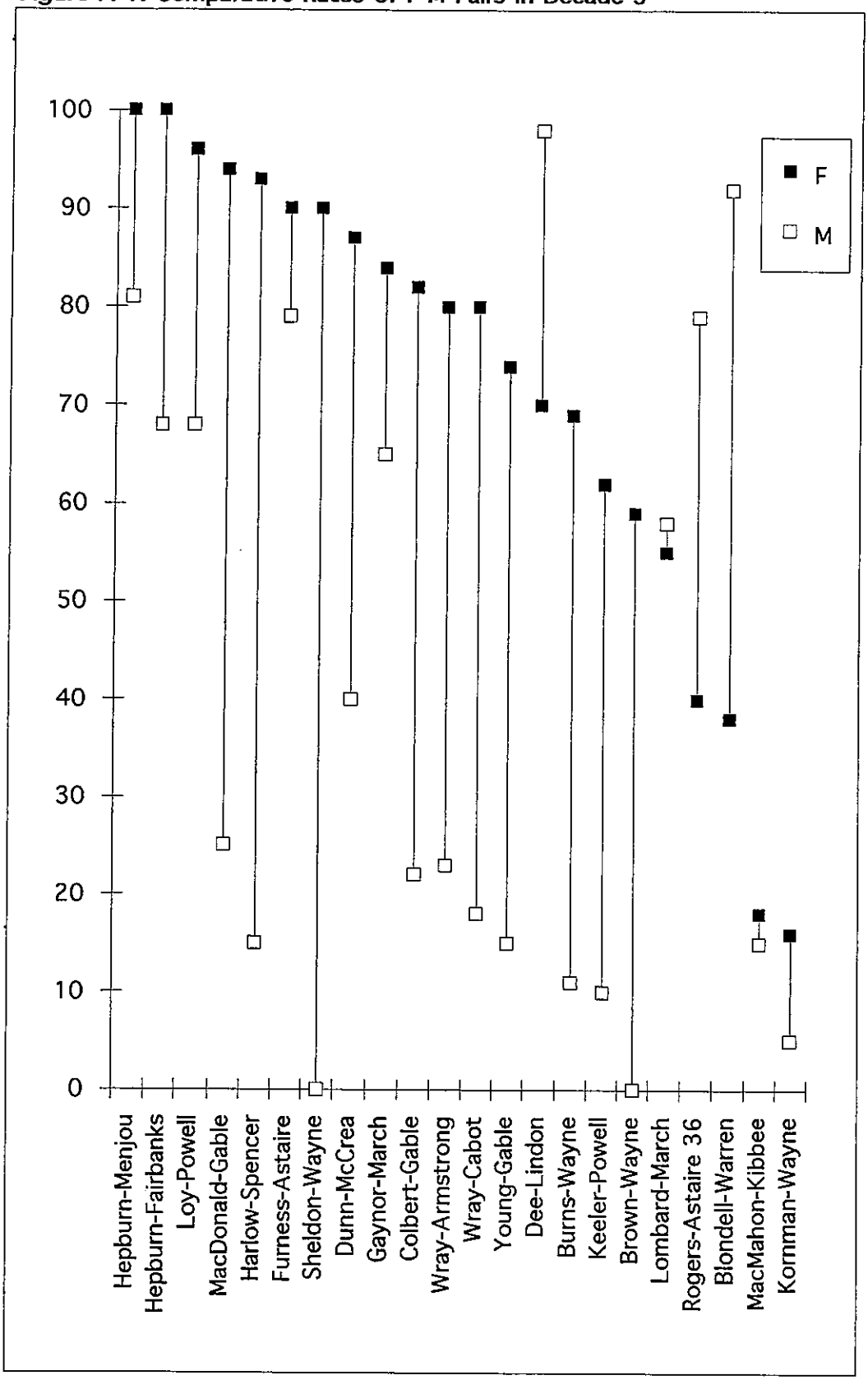


Figure A-2. Comparative Rates of F-M Pairs in Decade 4

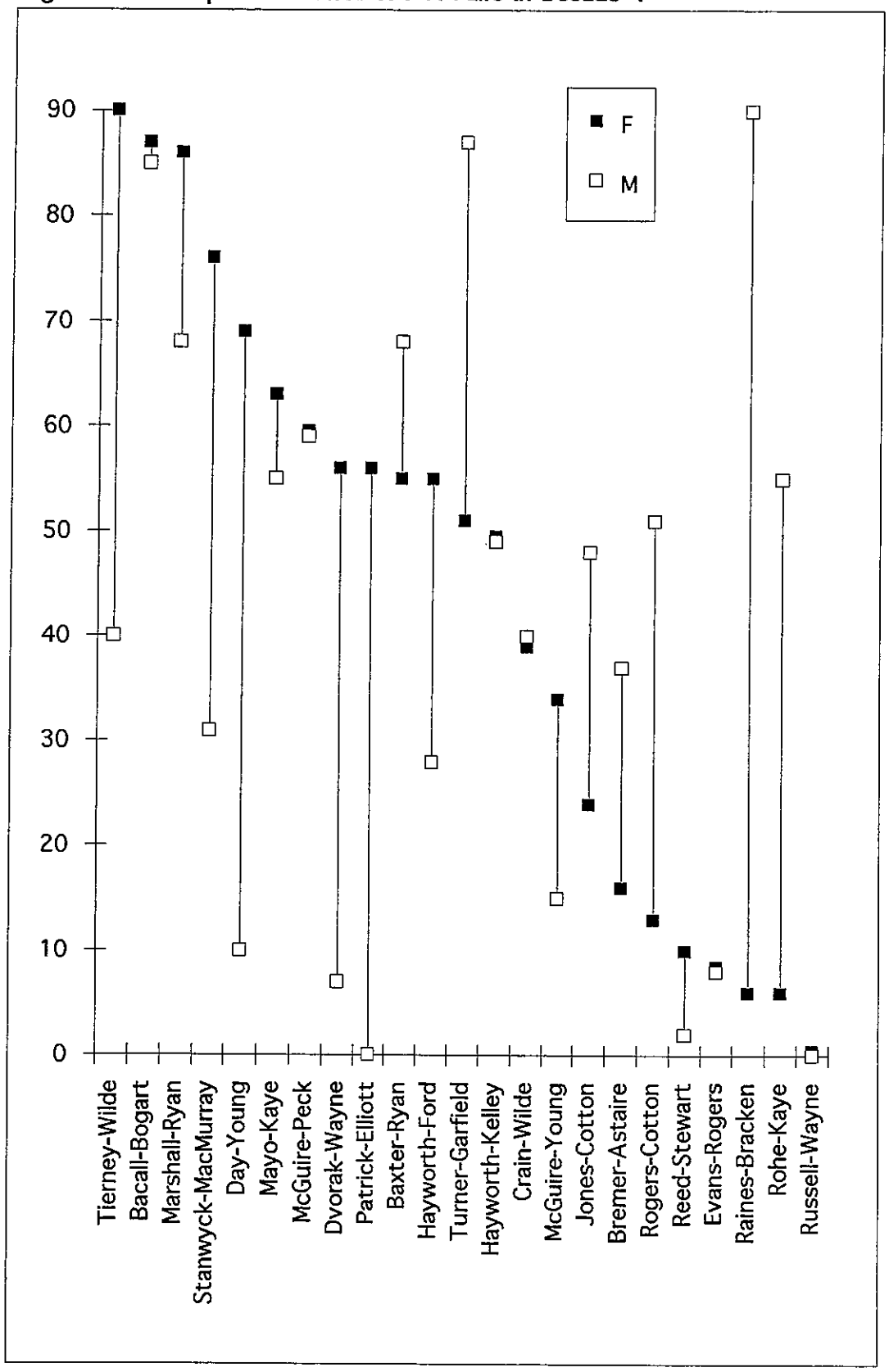


Figure A-3. Comparative Rates of F-M Pairs in Decade 5

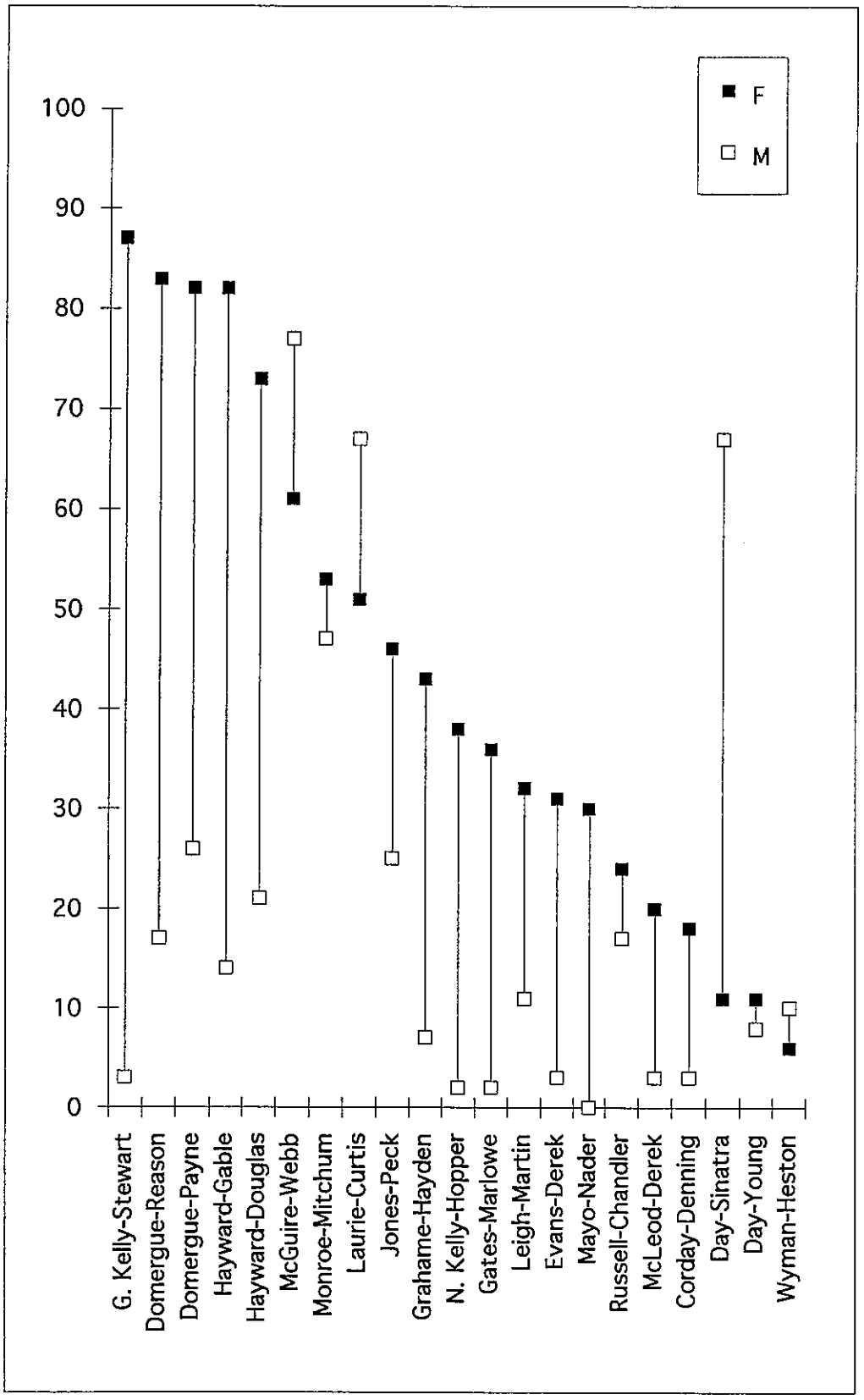


Figure A-4. Comparative Rates of F-M Pairs in Decade 6

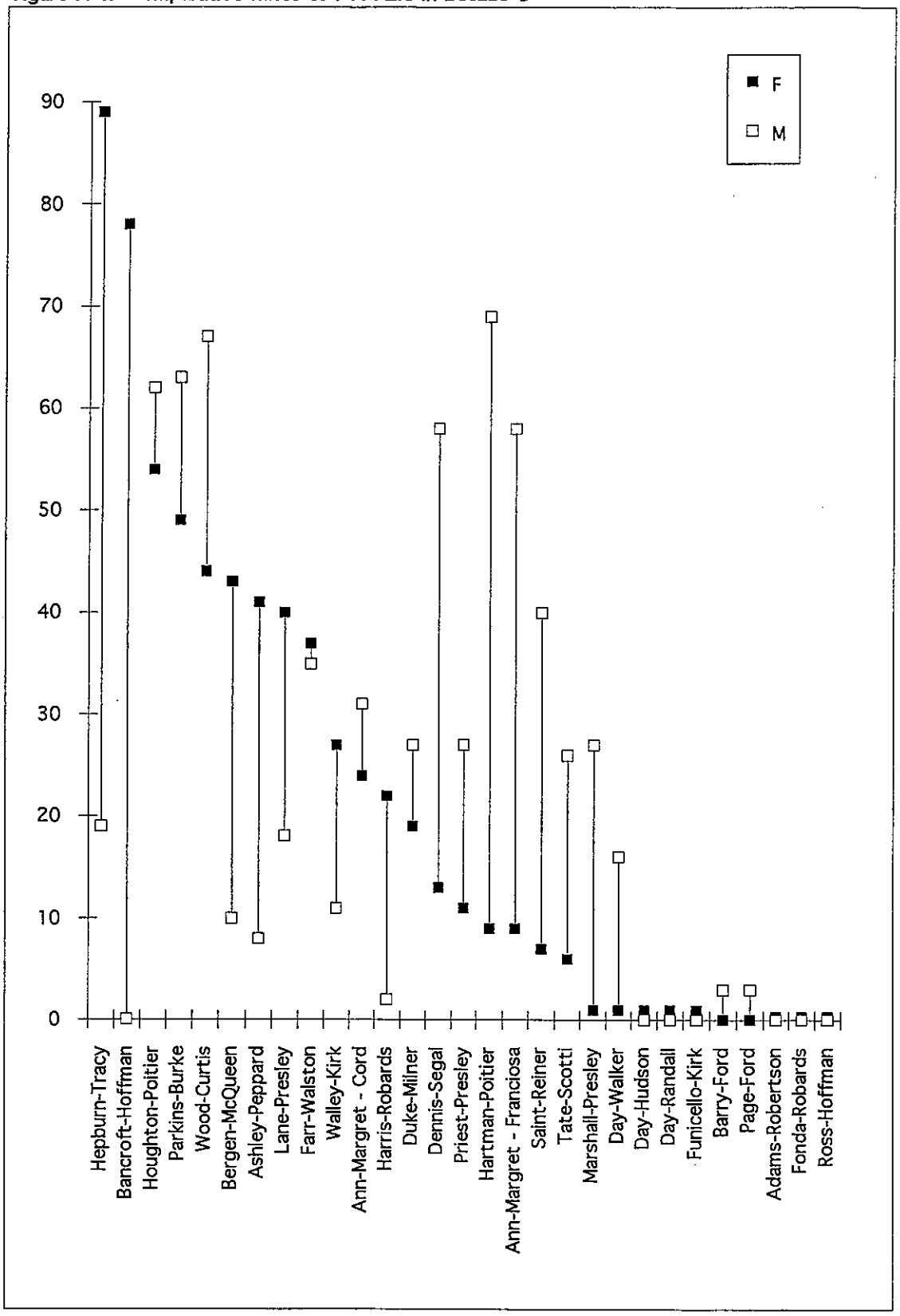


Figure A-5. Comparative Rates of F-M Pairs in Decade 7

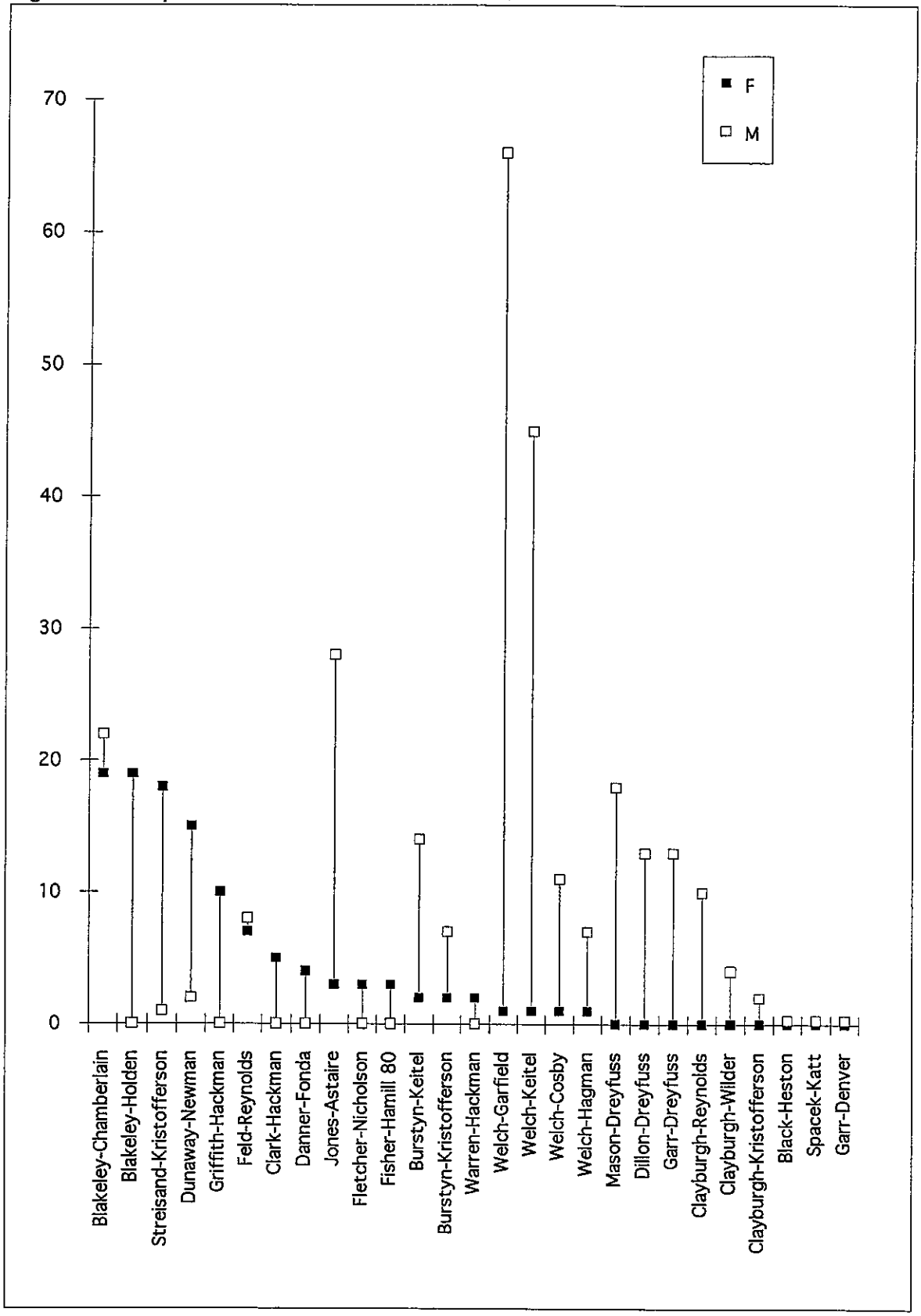


Figure A-6. Sample Data Collection Sheet							
Actor's name:			Year of film:			Decade:	
Film name:			Year of birth:			Biographical	
Place of birth:			Age at time of film:			comments:	
Role Name:							
Role comments:							
no. of tokens (ø)		total tokens		no. of tokens (ø)		total tokens	
Data on coda /r/							
Feature 1: (ø) - (r) / ___ C				Feature 2: (ø) - (r) / ___ #			
token	varb	token	varb	token	varb	token	varb
1		31		1		31	
2		32		2		32	
3		33		3		33	
4		34		4		34	
5		35		5		35	
6		36		6		36	
7		37		7		37	
8		38		8		38	
9		39		9		39	
10		40		10		40	
11		41		11		41	
12		42		12		42	
13		43		13		43	
14		44		14		44	
15		45		15		45	
16		46		16		46	
17		47		17		47	
18		48		18		48	
19		49		19		49	
20		50		20		50	
21		51		21		51	
22		52		22		52	
23		53		23		53	
24		54		24		54	
25		55		25		55	
26		56		26		56	
27		57		27		57	
28		58		28		58	
29		59		29		59	
30		60		30		60	

APPENDIX II

Table A-1. Female Subject Rates and Decade Rates

Decade 3: 1932-37		Decade 4: 1944-47		Decade 5: 1954-57	
subject	*(r) rate*	*subject*	*(r) rate*	*subject*	*(r) rate*
Duncan, Mary	100	Tierney, Gene	90	Kelly, Grace	92 *
Hepburn, Katharine	100	Bacall, Lauren	87	Domergue, Faith	83 *
Loy, Myrna	96	Marshall, Trudy	86	Peters, Jean	80
MacDonald, Jeanette	94	Stanwyck, Barbara	76	Hayward, Susan	78 *
Harlow, Jean	93	Day, Laraine	69	McGuire, Dorothy	61 *
Furness, Betty	90	Loy, Myrna	69	Monroe, Marilyn	53
Sheldon, Barbara	90	Mayo, Virginia	63	Laurie, Piper	51
Dunne, Irene	87	Dvorak, Ann	56	Jones, Jennifer	46
Crawford, Joan	85	Patrick, Gail	56	Grahame, Gloria	43
Gaynor, Janet	84	Wyman, Jane	56	McNamara, Maggie	39
Colbert, Claudette	82	Baxter, Anne	55	Kelly, Nancy	38
Wray, Fay	80	Hayworth, Rita	52 *	Gates, Nancy	36
Young, Loretta	74	Turner, Lana	51	Leigh, Janet	32
Dee, Frances	70	McGuire, Dorothy	47 *	Evans, Joan	31
Shelton, Marla	70	Young, Loretta	43	Garland, Judy	31
Burns, Marion	69	Crain, Jeanne	39	Mayo, Virginia	30
Keeler, Ruby	62	Jones, Jennifer	24	Russell, Jane	24
Brown, Virginia F.	59	Bremer, Lucille	16	McLeod, Catherine	20
Lombard, Carole	55	Temple, Shirley	15	Corday, Mara	18
Blondell, Joan	50 *	Rogers, Ginger	13	Day, Doris	11
Rogers, Ginger	44 *	Reed, Donna	10	Wyman, Jane	6
MacMahon, Aline	18	Evans, Dale	8		
Kornman, Mary	16	Raines, Ella	6		
		Rohe, Vera-Ellen	6		
		Russell, Gail	0		
AVERAGE	**73**	**AVERAGE**	**44**	**AVERAGE**	**43**
MEDIAN	**80**	**MEDIAN**	**51**	**MEDIAN**	**38**

*subject rate averaged from multiple subject-roles

Table A-1. Female Subject Rates and Decade Rates (Continued)

Decade 6: 1964-67	
subject	*(r) rate*
Bancroft, Anne	78
Houghton, Katharine	54
Parkins, Barbara	49
Wood, Natalie	44
Bergen, Candice	43
Ashley, Elizabeth	41
Lane, Jocelyn	40
Taylor, Elizabeth	38
Farr, Felicia	37
Walley, Deborah	27
Harris, Barbara	22
Welch, Raquel	21
Duke, Patty	19
Ann-Margret	17 *

Decade 6 (Continued)	
subject	*(r) rate*
Dennis, Sandy	13
Priest, Pat	11
Hartman, Elizabeth	9
Saint, Eva Marie	7
Dromm, Andrea	6
Tate, Sharon	6
Day, Doris	1
Funicello, Annette	1
Marshall, Dodie	1
Adams, Edie	0
Barry, Patricia	0
Fonda, Jane	0
Page, Geraldine	0
Ross, Katharine	0
AVERAGE	**38**
MEDIAN	**39**

Decade 7: 1974-77	
subject	*(r) rate*
Blakeley, Susan	19
Hassett, Marilyn	19
Streisand, Barbra	18
Dunaway, Fay	15
Harris, Barbara	13
Griffith, Melanie	10
Field, Sally	7
Clark, Susan	5
Danner, Blythe	4
Fisher, Carrie	3
Fletcher, Louise	3
Arnaz, Lucie	2
Burstyn, Ellen	2
Warren, Jennifer	2
Welch, Raquel	1
Black, Karen	0
Buckley, Betty	0
Chris Norris	0
Clayburgh, Jill	0 *
Dillon, Melinda	0
Garr, Teri	0 *
Mason, Marsha	0
Spacek, Sissy	0
AVERAGE	**5**
MEDIAN	**2**

*subject rate averaged from multiple subject-roles

Table A-2. Male Subject Rates and Decade Rates

Decade 3: 1932-37		Decade 4: 1944-47		Decade 5: 1954-57	
subject	*(r) rate*	*subject*	*(r) rate*	*subject*	*(r) rate*
Lindon, Eric	98	Bracken, Eddie	90	Webb, Clifton	77
William, Warren	92	Garfield, John	87	Curtis, Tony	67
Menjou, Adolphe	81	Bogart, Humphrey	85	Sinatra, Frank	67
Astaire, Fred	80 *	Ryan, Edward	68	Astaire, Fred	49 *
Fairbanks, Douglas	68	Peck, Gregory	59	Mitchum, Robert	47
Powell, William	68	Kaye, Danny	55	Payne, John	26
March, Fredric	62 *	Cotten, Joseph	50 *	Peck, Gregory	25
McCrea, Joel	40	Kelly, Gene	49	Douglas, Kirk	21
Gable, Clark	25 *	Wilde, Cornel	40	Chandler, Jeff	17
Armstrong, Robert	23	Astaire, Fred	39 *	Reason, Rex	17
Gable, Clark	21	MacMurray, Fred	31	Gable, Clark	14
Cabot, Bruce	18	Ford, Glenn	28	Martin, Dean	11
Kibbee, Guy	15	Young, Robert	13 *	Heston, Charlton	10
Tracy, Spencer	15	Rogers, Roy	8	Young, Gig	8
Powell, Dick	10	Wayne, John	4 *	Hayden, Sterling	7
Wayne, John	4 *	Stewart, James	2	Denning, Richard	3
		Elliott, William	0	Derek, John	3
				Stewart, James	3
				Hopper, Bill	2
				Marlowe, Hugh	2
				Nader, George	0
AVERAGE	**45**	**AVERAGE**	**42**	**AVERAGE**	**23**
MEDIAN	**33**	**MEDIAN**	**40**	**MEDIAN**	**13**

*subject rate averaged from multiple subject-roles

Table A-2. Male Subject Rates and Decade Rates (Continued)

Decade 6: 1964-67		Decade 7: 1974-77	
subject	*(r) rate*	*subject*	*(r) rate*
Curtis, Tony	67	Garfield, Allen	66
Poitier, Sydney	66 *	Keitel, Harvey	30
Burke, Paul	63	Chamberlain, Richard	22
Franciosa, Tony	58	Dreyfuss, Richard	16
Segal, George	58	Cosby, Bill	11
Reiner, Carl	40	Reynolds, Burt	9
Walston, Ray	35	Hagman, Larry	7
Cord, Alex	31	Wilder, Gene	4
Milner, Martin	27	Kristofferson, Kris	3
Scotti, Tony	26	Newman, Paul	2
Presley, Elvis	23 *	Denver, John	0
Tracy, Spencer	19	Fonda, Peter	0
Walker, Clint	16	Ford, Harrison	0
Martin, Dean	10	Hackman, Gene	0
McQueen, Steve	10	Hamill, Mark	0
Peppard, George	8	Heston, Charlton	0
Kirk, Tommy	6 *	Holden, William	0
Ford, Glenn	3	Katt, William	0
Robards, Jason	2 *	McQueen, Steve	0
Hoffman, Dustin	0	Nicholson, Jack	0
Hudson, Rock	0		
Randall, Tony	0		
Robards, Jason	0		
Robertson, Cliff	0		
AVERAGE	**24**	**AVERAGE**	**9**
MEDIAN	**18**	**MEDIAN**	**1**

*subject rate averaged from multiple subject-roles

Table A-3. Subject-roles Excluded from Decade Rate Calculations

Exclusion due to non North American regional background

Leslie Howard	*The Stand-In* (1937)
Ray Milland	*The Lost Weekend* (1945)
Cary Grant	*The Bishop's Wife* (1947)
Cary Grant	*The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (1947)
Cary Grant	*To Catch a Thief* (1954)
Audrey Hepburn	*Funny Face* (1956)
Angela Lansbury	*Dear Heart* (1965)
Stephen Boyd	*Fantastic Voyage* (1966)

Exclusion due to age

Susan Hayward	*Valley of the Dolls* (1967)
Katharine Hepburn	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967)
Spencer Tracy	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967)
Fred Astaire	*The Towering Inferno* (1974)
Jennifer Jones	*The Towering Inferno* (1974)
Myrna Loy	*Airport 1975* (1974)
George Burns	*Oh, God* (1977)

Exclusion due to atypical/stereotyped speech

Roy Osmond	*Kiss Me Stupid* (1966)
Carrie Fisher	*Star Wars* (1977)

Table A-4. Subjects' State or Province of Birth

state/province:	*F subjects*	*M subjects*	*T subjects*	
United States				
AL	2	0	2	
AR	1	1	2	
CA	17	11	28	
CT	3	1	4	
FL	2	1	3	
GA	0	1	1	
IA	2	1	3	
ID	2	0	2	
IL	4	8	12	
IN	2	1	3	
KY	1	1	2	
LA	1	2	3	
MA	1	0	1	
MI	3	3	6	
MN	1	2	3	
MO	6	2	8	
MS	0	1	1	
MT	1	0	1	
NE	2	1	3	
NJ	1	4	5	
NM	0	2	2	
NY	24	19	43	
OH	5	4	9	
OK	1	1	2	
PA	7	6	13	
TX	6	3	9	
UT	3	0	3	
VA	1	2	3	
WA	1	0	1	
WI	0	3	3	
1	3	1	4	1 born abroad to US parents
2	2	0	2	2 born abroad; immigrated young
3	2	2	4	3 unknown
		Total:	191	
Canada				
AB	1	0	1	
BC	1	0	1	
NS	1	0	1	
ON	1	0	1	
PQ	0	1	1	
		Total:	5	

Table A-5. Female Subjects in Multiple Roles Across Decade Groups

subject	*year*	*film*	*role status and (r) rate*	
Day, Doris	54	*Young at Heart*	small-town daughter of music professor	**11**
	64	*Send Me No Flowers*	white-collar housewife	**1**
Harris, Barbara	65	*Thousand Clowns, A*	New York City socialworker	**22**
	77	*Freaky Friday*	housewife/mother of 13-year-old	**13**
Hayward, Susan	55	*Soldier of Fortune*	wife of photographer	82
	56	*Top Secret Affair*	news publisher	73
			Decade 5 average	**78**
	67	*Valley of the Dolls*	successful Broadway star	**59**
Hepburn, Katharine	33	*Morning Glory*	aspiring actress from Vermont	**100**
	67	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	wife of wealthy newspaper owner	**89**
Jones, Jennifer	45	*Love Letters*	adopted Canadian orphan in Britain	**24**
	56	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	wife of upwardly mobile professional	**46**
	74	*Towering Inferno, The*	teacher/caregiver	**3**
Loy, Myrna	36	*Libeled Lady, The*	wealthy heiress	**96**
	47	*Bachelor & the Bobby-Soxer, The*	judge, unmarried, age in 30's	**69**
	74	*Airport 1975*	elderly airline passenger	**7**
Mayo, Virginia	45	*Wonder Man*	librarian	**63**
	56	*Congo Crossing*	fugitive murder suspect	**30**
McGuire, Dorothy	45	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	orphaned, shy loner, 'ugly' villager	34
	47	*Gentleman's Agreement*	divorced daughter of magazine editor	59
			Decade 4 average	**47**
	54	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	secretary; will marry well-known writer	**61**
Rogers, Ginger	33	*Golddiggers of 1933*	chorus girl	40
	34	*Gay Divorcee, The*	wife of geologist; from wealthy family	44
	35	*Top Hat*	member of leisure class	53
	36	*Swing Time*	dance instructor	40
	37	*Shall We Dance?*	professional dancer	45
			Decade 3 average	44
	44	*I'll Be Seeing You*	secretary wrongly imprisoned	**13**
Welch, Raquel	66	*Fantastic Voyage*	medical technician	**21**
	76	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	secretary, ambulance driver	**1**
Wyman, Jane	45	*Lost Weekend, The*	member of leisure class	**56**
	55	*Lucy Gallant*	fashion boutique enterpreneur	**6**
Young, Loretta	35	*Call of the Wild, The*	wife of gold prospector	**74**
	47	*Bishop's Wife, The*	wife of Episcopal bishop	**43**

Table A-6. Male Subjects in Multiple Roles Across Decade Groups

subject	*year*	*film*	*role status and (r) rate*	
Astaire, Fred	34	*Gay Divorcee, The*	famous dancer	89
	35	*Top Hat*	dancer	95
	36	*Swing Time*	poor dancer	79
	37	*Shall We Dance?*	famous dancer	56
			Decade 3 average	**80**
	44	*Ziegfield Follies*	himself: famous dancer	41
	45	*Yolanda and the Thief*	con man	37
			Decade 4 average	**39**
	56	*Funny Face*	fashion magazine photographer	46
	57	*Silk Stockings*	Hollywood producer	52
			Decade 5 average	**49**
	74	*Towering Inferno, The*	elderly con man	**28**
Curtis, Tony	54	*Johnny Dark*	auto engineer & designer	**67**
	65	*Great Race, The*	car racer at turn of century	**67**
Ford, Glenn	46	*Gilda*	good guy manager of casino	**28**
	65	*Dear Heart*	greeting card salesman	**3**
Gable, Clark	34	*It Happened One Night*	journalist	22
	35	*Call of the Wild, The*	prospector	15
	36	*San Francisco*	bar-dance hall owner	25
			Decade 3 average	**21**
	55	*Soldier of Fortune*	wealthy smuggler	**14**
Grant, Cary	47	*Bachelor & the Bobby-Soxer, The*	artist	75
	47	*Bishop's Wife, The*	angel	87
			Decade 4 average	**81**
	54	*To Catch a Thief*	reformed jewel thief	**88**
Heston, Charlton	55	*Lucy Gallant*	rancher who finds oil	**10**
	74	*Airport 1975*	pilot	**0**
Martin, Dean	54	*Living It Up*	country doctor in New Mexico	**11**
	64	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	famous Las Vegas singer	**10**
McQueen, Steve	66	*Sand Pebbles, The*	sailor in US Navy in 1920's China	**10**
	74	*Towering Inferno, The*	fire chief	**0**
Peck, Gregory	47	*Gentleman's Agreement*	journalist for magazine	**59**
	56	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	white-collar worker	**25**
Stewart, James	46	*It's a Wonderful Life*	local boy; runs savings & loan	**2**
	54	*Rear Window*	New York magazine photographer	**3**

Table A-6. Male Subjects in Multiple Roles Across Decade Groups (continued)

subject	*year film*	*role status and (r) rate*	
Tracy, Spencer	36 *Libeled Lady, The*	newspaper journalist	**15**
	67 *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	San Francisco newspaper owner	**19**
Wayne, John	33 *West of the Divide*	local boy	0
	34 *Lucky Texan, The*	cowboy	0
	35 *Dawn Rider, The*	local boy	11
	35 *Desert Trail, The*	cowboy	5
		Decade 3 average	**4**
	45 *Flame of the Barbary Coast*	Montana cowboy	7
	47 *Angel and the Bad Man*	cowboy	0
		Decade 4 average	**4**

Table A-7. Female-Male Pairs

Decade 3

	female subject	*male co-star*	*year*	*film*	*relationship*	(r) rate *F%*	*M%*
1	Hepburn, Katharine	Menjou, Adolphe	33	*Morning Glory*	romantic	100	81
2	Hepburn, Katharine	Fairbanks, Douglas	33	*Morning Glory*	romantic	100	68
3	Loy, Myrna	Powell, William	36	*Libeled Lady, The*	romantic	96	68
4	MacDonald, Jeanette	Gable, Clark	36	*San Francisco*	romantic	94	25
5	Harlow, Jean	Tracy, Spencer	36	*Libeled Lady, The*	romantic	93	15
6	Furness, Betty	Astaire, Fred	36	*Swing Time*	romantic	90	79
7	Sheldon, Barbara	Wayne, John	34	*Lucky Texan, The*	romantic	90	0
8	Dunn, Irene	McCrea, Joel	33	*Silver Cord, The*	romantic	87	40
9	Gaynor, Janet	March, Fredric	37	*Star is Born, A*	romantic	84	65
10	Colbert, Claudette	Gable, Clark	34	*It Happened One Night*	romantic	82	22
11	Wray, Fay	Armstrong, Robert	33	*King Kong*	employer	80	23
12	Wray, Fay	Cabot, Bruce	33	*King Kong*	romantic	80	18
13	Young, Loretta	Gable, Clark	35	*Call of the Wild*	romantic	74	15
14	Dee, Frances	Lindon, Eric	33	*Silver Cord, The*	romantic	70	98
15	Burns, Marion	Wayne, John	35	*Dawn Rider, The*	romantic	69	11
16	Keeler, Ruby	Powell, Dick	33	*Golddiggers of '33*	romantic	62	10
17	Brown, Virginia F.	Wayne, John	33	*West of the Divide*	romantic	59	0
18	Lombard, Carole	March, Fredric	37	*Nothing Sacred*	romantic	55	58
19	Rogers, Ginger	Astaire, Fred	36	*Swing Time*	romantic	40	79
20	Blondell, Joan	William, Warren	33	*Golddiggers of '33*	romantic	38	92
21	MacMahon, Aline	Kibbee, Guy	33	*Golddiggers of '33*	romantic	18	15
22	Kornman, Mary	Wayne, John	35	*Desert Trail, The*	romantic	16	5

Table A-7. Female-Male Pairs (continued)

Decade 4

	female subject	*male co-star*	*year*	*film*	*relationship*	(r) rate *F%*	*M%*
1	Tierney, Gene	Wilde, Cornel	44	*Leave Her to Heaven*	romantic	90	40
2	Bacall, Lauren	Bogart, Humphrey	45	*To Have and Not Have*	romantic	87	85
3	Marshall, Trudy	Ryan, Edward	44	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	sibling	86	68
4	Stanwyck, Barbara	MacMurray, Fred	44	*Double Indemnity*	romantic	76	31
5	Day, Laraine	Young, Robert	45	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	romantic	69	10
6	Mayo, Virginia	Kaye, Danny	45	*Wonder Man*	romantic	63	55
7	McGuire, Dorothy	Peck, Gregory	47	*Gentleman's Agreement*	romantic	59	59
8	Dvorak, Ann	Wayne, John	45	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	romantic	56	7
9	Patrick, Gail	Elliott, William	46	*Plainsman and the Lady, The*	romantic	56	0
10	Baxter, Anne	Ryan, Edward	44	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	romantic	55	68
11	Hayworth, Rita	Ford, Glenn	46	*Gilda*	romantic	55	28
12	Turner, Lana	Garfield, John	46	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	romantic	51	87
13	Hayworth, Rita	Kelly, Gene	44	*Cover Girl*	romantic	49	49
14	Crain, Jeanne	Wilde, Cornel	44	*Leave Her to Heaven*	romantic	39	40
15	McGuire, Dorothy	Young, Robert	45	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	romantic	34	15
16	Jones, Jennifer	Cotten, Joseph	45	*Love Letters*	romantic	24	48
17	Bremer, Lucille	Astaire, Fred	45	*Yolanda and the Thief*	romantic	16	37
18	Rogers, Ginger	Cotten, Joseph	44	*I'll Be Seeing You*	romantic	13	51
19	Reed, Donna	Stewart, James	46	*It's a Wonderful Life*	romantic	10	2
20	Evans, Dale	Rogers, Roy	47	*Bells of San Angelo, The*	romantic	8	8
21	Raines, Ella	Bracken, Eddie	44	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	romantic	6	90
22	Rohe, Vera-Ellen	Kaye, Danny	45	*Wonder Man*	romantic	6	55
23	Russell, Gail	Wayne, John	47	*Angel and the Bad Man*	romantic	0	0

Table A-7. Female-Male Pairs (continued)

Decade 5

	female subject	*male co-star*	*year*	*film*	*relationship*	(r) rate *F%*	*M%*
1	Kelly, Grace	Stewart, James	54	*Rear Window*	romantic	87	3
2	Domergue, Faith	Reason, Rex	55	*This Island Earth*	romantic	83	17
3	Domergue, Faith	Payne, John	54	*Santa Fe Passage*	romantic	82	26
4	Hayward, Susan	Gable, Clark	55	*Soldier of Fortune*	romantic	82	14
5	Hayward, Susan	Douglas, Kirk	56	*Top Secret Affair*	romantic	73	21
6	McGuire, Dorothy	Webb, Clifton	54	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	romantic	61	77
7	Monroe, Marilyn	Mitchum, Robert	54	*River of No Return*	romantic	53	47
8	Laurie, Piper	Curtis, Tony	54	*Johnny Dark*	romantic	51	67
9	Jones, Jennifer	Peck, Gregory	56	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	romantic	46	25
10	Grahame, Gloria	Hayden, Sterling	54	*Naked Alibi*	romantic	43	7
11	Kelly, Nancy	Hopper, Bill	56	*Bad Seed, The*	romantic	38	2
12	Gates, Nancy	Marlowe, Hugh	56	*World Without End*	romantic	36	2
13	Leigh, Janet	Martin, Dean	54	*Living It Up*	romantic	32	11
14	Evans, Joan	Derek, John	54	*Outcast, The*	romantic	31	3
15	Mayo, Virginia	Nader, George	56	*Congo Crossing*	romantic	30	0
16	Russell, Jane	Chandler, Jeff	55	*Foxfire*	romantic	24	17
17	McLeod, Catherine	Derek, John	54	*Outcast, The*	romantic	20	3
18	Corday, Mara	Denning, Richard	57	*Black Scorpion, The*	romantic	18	3
19	Day, Doris	Sinatra, Frank	54	*Young at Heart*	romantic	11	67
20	Day, Doris	Young, Gig	54	*Young at Heart*	romantic	11	8
21	Wyman, Jane	Heston, Charlton	55	*Lucy Gallant*	romantic	6	10

Table A-7. Female-Male Pairs (continued)

Decade 6

	female subject	*male co-star*	*year*	*film*	*relationship*	(r) rate *F%*	*M%*
1	Hepburn, Katharine	Tracy, Spencer	67	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	romantic	89	19
2	Bancroft, Anne	Hoffman, Dustin	67	*Graduate, The*	romantic	78	0
3	Houghton, Katharine	Poitier, Sydney	67	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	romantic	54	62
4	Parkins, Barbara	Burke, Paul	67	*Valley of the Dolls*	romantic	49	63
5	Wood, Natalie	Curtis, Tony	65	*Great Race, The*	romantic	44	67
6	Bergen, Candice	McQueen, Steve	66	*Sand Pebbles, The*	romantic	43	10
7	Ashley, Elizabeth	Peppard, George	65	*Third Day, The*	romantic	41	8
8	Lane, Jocelyn	Presley, Elvis	65	*Tickle Me*	romantic	40	18
9	Farr, Felicia	Walston, Ray	64	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	romantic	37	35
10	Walley, Deborah	Kirk, Tommy	66	*Ghost in the Invisible Bikini, The*	romantic	27	11
11	Ann-Margret	Cord, Alex	66	*Stagecoach*	romantic	24	31
12	Harris, Barbara	Robards, Jason	65	*Thousand Clowns, A*	romantic	22	2
13	Duke, Patty	Milner, Martin	67	*Valley of the Dolls*	romantic	19	27
14	Dennis, Sandy	Segal, George	66	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	romantic	13	58
15	Priest, Pat	Presley, Elvis	66	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	competitor	11	27
16	Hartman, Elizabeth	Poitier, Sydney	65	*Patch of Blue, A*	romantic	9	69
17	Ann-Margret	Franciosa, Tony	66	*Swinger, The*	romantic	9	58
18	Saint, Eva Marie	Reiner, Carl	66	*The Russians Are Coming*	romantic	7	40
19	Tate, Sharon	Scotti, Tony	67	*Valley of the Dolls*	romantic	6	26
20	Marshall, Dodie	Presley, Elvis	66	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	romantic	1	27
21	Day, Doris	Walker, Clint	64	*Send Me No Flowers*	romantic	1	16
22	Day, Doris	Randall, Tony	64	*Send Me No Flowers*	friend	1	0
23	Day, Doris	Hudson, Rock	64	*Send Me No Flowers*	romantic	1	0
24	Funicello, Annette	Kirk, Tommy	65	*Monkey's Uncle, The*	romantic	1	0
25	Barry, Patricia	Ford, Glenn	65	*Dear Heart*	friend	0	3
26	Page, Geraldine	Ford, Glenn	65	*Dear Heart*	romantic	0	3
27	Adams, Edie	Robertson, Cliff	64	*Best Man, The*	romantic	0	0
28	Fonda, Jane	Robards, Jason	66	*Any Wednesday*	friend	0	0
29	Ross, Katharine	Hoffman, Dustin	67	*Graduate, The*	romantic	0	0

Table A-7. Female-Male Pairs (continued)

Decade 7

	female subject	*male co-star*	*year*	*film*	*relationship*	(r) rate *F%*	*M%*
1	Blakeley, Susan	Chamberlain, Richard	74	*Towering Inferno, The*	romantic	19	22
2	Blakeley, Susan	Holden, William	74	*Towering Inferno, The*	father	19	0
3	Streisand, Barbra	Kristofferson, Kris	76	*Star is Born, A*	romantic	18	1
4	Dunaway, Fay	Newman, Paul	74	*Towering Inferno, The*	romantic	15	2
5	Griffith, Melanie	Hackman, Gene	75	*Night Moves*	helper	10	0
6	Field, Sally	Reynolds, Burt	77	*Smokey & the Bandit*	romantic	7	8
7	Clark, Susan	Hackman, Gene	75	*Night Moves*	romantic	5	0
8	Danner, Blythe	Fonda, Peter	76	*Futureworld*	romantic	4	0
9	Jones, Jennifer	Astaire, Fred	74	*Towering Inferno, The*	romantic	3	28
10	Fletcher, Louise	Nicholson, Jack	75	*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*	competitor	3	0
11	Fisher, Carrie	Hamill, Mark	80	*Empire Strikes Back*	sibling	3	0
12	Burstyn, Ellen	Keitel, Harvey	74	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	romantic	2	14
13	Burstyn, Ellen	Kristofferson, Kris	74	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	romantic	2	7
14	Warren, Jennifer	Hackman, Gene	75	*Night Moves*	romantic	2	0
15	Welch, Raquel	Garfield, Allen	76	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	employer	1	66
16	Welch, Raquel	Keitel, Harvey	76	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	romantic	1	45
17	Welch, Raquel	Cosby, Bill	76	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	colleague	1	11
18	Welch, Raquel	Hagman, Larry	76	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	colleague	1	7
19	Mason, Marsha	Dreyfuss, Richard	77	*Goodbye Girl, The*	romantic	0	18
20	Dillon, Melinda	Dreyfuss, Richard	77	*Close Encounters of the 3rd Kind*	friend	0	13
21	Garr, Teri	Dreyfuss, Richard	77	*Close Encounters of the 3rd Kind*	romantic	0	13
22	Clayburgh, Jill	Reynolds, Burt	77	*Semi-Tough*	romantic	0	10
23	Clayburgh, Jill	Wilder, Gene	76	*Silver Streak*	romantic	0	4
24	Clayburgh, Jill	Kristofferson, Kris	77	*Semi-Tough*	romantic	0	2
25	Black, Karen	Heston, Charlton	74	*Airport 1975*	romantic	0	0
26	Spacek, Sissy	Katt, William	76	*Carrie*	romantic	0	0
27	Garr, Teri	Denver, John	77	*Oh, God*	romantic	0	0

Table A-8. Role Status of Female Subjects

Decade 3: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Duncan, Mary	1	*Morning Glory*	spoiled prima donna actress	100
Hepburn, Katharine	1	*Morning Glory*	aspiring actress from Vermont	100
Loy, Myrna	2	*Libeled Lady, The*	wealthy heiress	96
MacDonald, Jeanette	2	*San Francisco*	Colorado minister's daughter, opera singer	94
Harlow, Jean	2	*Libeled Lady, The*	member of leisure class	93
Furness, Betty	1	*Swing Time*	member of leisure class	90
Sheldon, Barbara	2	*Lucky Texan, The*	townsgirl from Iowa	90
Dunne, Irene	2	*Silver Cord, The*	scientist married to architect	87
Crawford, Joan	2	*Rain*	woman of questionable morals, from Kansas	85
Gaynor, Janet	2	*Star is Born, A*	actress from North Dakota farm	84
Colbert, Claudette	1	*It Happened One Night*	millionaire's daughter	82
Wray, Fay	2	*King Kong*	actress	80
Young, Loretta	2	*Call of the Wild, The*	wife of British-accented prospector	74
Dee, Frances	2	*Silver Cord, The*	member of leisure class	70
Shelton, Marla	?	*Stand-In, The*	successful actress (negative character)	70
Burns, Marion	2	*Dawn Rider, The*	townsperson	69
Blondell, Joan	1	*Stand-In, The*	actress, secretary	62
Keeler, Ruby	1	*Golddiggers of 1933*	showgirl who will marry wealthy heir	62
Brown, Virginia F.	1	*West of the Divide*	daughter of cattle rancher	59
Lombard, Carole	2	*Nothing Sacred*	townsperson from Vermont	55
Rogers, Ginger	2	*Top Hat*	member of leisure class	53
Rogers, Ginger	2	*Shall We Dance?*	professional dancer	45
Rogers, Ginger	2	*Gay Divorcee, The*	wife of geologist; from wealthy Chicago family	44
Rogers, Ginger	2	*Golddiggers of 1933*	showgirl	40
Rogers, Ginger	2	*Swing Time*	dance instructor	40
Blondell, Joan	1	*Golddiggers of 1933*	showgirl	38
MacMahon, Aline	1	*Golddiggers of 1933*	showgirl	18
Kornman, Mary	2	*Desert Trail, The*	orphan working as store clerk	16

1=non-rhotic native 2=rhotic native ?=unknown native region
*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-8. Role Status of Female Subjects (continued)

Decade 4: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Tierney, Gene	1	*Leave Her to Heaven*	wealthy family (negative character)	90
Bacall, Lauren	1	*To Have and Not Have*	woman of mystery, pickpocket	87
Marshall, Trudy	1	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	middle class townsgirl in Iowa	86
Stanwyck, Barbara	1	*Double Indemnity*	wife of oil rig manager (negative character)	76
Day, Laraine	2	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	worker in perfume dept. of expensive NY store	69
Loy, Myrna	2	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	judge, unmarried, age in 30's	69
Mayo, Virginia	2	*Wonder Man*	librarian	63
McGuire, Dorothy	2	*Gentleman's Agreement*	divorced daughter of magazine editor	59
Dvorak, Ann	1	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	star nightclub singer	56
Patrick, Gail	1	*Plainsman and the Lady, The*	banker's wife (negative character)	56
Wyman, Jane	2	*Lost Weekend, The*	member of leisure class	56
Baxter, Anne	2	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	middle class townsgirl in Iowa	55
Hayworth, Rita	1	*Gilda*	"bad girl" married to casino owner	55
Turner, Lana	2	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	wife of store-owner	51
Hayworth, Rita	1	*Cover Girl*	singing star	49
Young, Loretta	2	*Bishop's Wife, The*	wife of British-accented Episcopal bishop	43
Crain, Jeanne	2	*Leave Her to Heaven*	orphan adopted by wealthier relatives	39
McGuire, Dorothy	2	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	orphaned, shy loner, 'ugly' villager	34
Jones, Jennifer	2	*Love Letters*	adopted Canadian orphan in Britain	24
Bremer, Lucille	2	*Yolanda and the Thief*	very innocent young Mexican heiress	16
Temple, Shirley	2	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	teenager in educated family	15
Rogers, Ginger	2	*I'll Be Seeing You*	secretary wrongly imprisoned	13
Reed, Donna	2	*It's a Wonderful Life*	middle class townsperson	10
Evans, Dale	2	*Bells of San Angelo, The*	famous writer	8
Raines, Ella	2	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	California townsperson	6
Rohe, Vera-Ellen	2	*Wonder Man*	showgirl	6
Russell, Gail	2	*Angel and the Bad Man*	very innocent Quaker daughter	0

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-8. Role Status of Female Subjects (continued)

Decade 5: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Hepburn, Audrey*	1	*Funny Face*	New York bookstore worker; fashion model	99
Kelly, Grace	2	*To Catch a Thief*	finishing-school nouveau-riche heir	96
Kelly, Grace	2	*Rear Window*	wealthy employee of fashion house	87
Domergue, Faith	1	*This Island Earth*	scientist	83
Domergue, Faith	1	*Santa Fe Passage*	wealthy daughter of trapper and Indian princess	82
Hayward, Susan	1	*Soldier of Fortune*	wife of photographer	82
Peters, Jean	2	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	secretary who will marry Italian prince	80
Hayward, Susan	1	*Top Secret Affair*	news publisher	73
McGuire, Dorothy	2	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	secretary who will marry well-known writer	61
Monroe, Marilyn	2	*River of No Return*	barroom singer-dancer, ca. 1850	53
Laurie, Piper	2	*Johnny Dark*	auto designer, granddaughter of company's owner	51
Jones, Jennifer	2	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	wife of upwardly mobile professional	46
Grahame, Gloria	2	*Naked Alibi*	nightclub singer	43
McNamara, Maggie	1	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	secretary who will marry poor law student	39
Kelly, Nancy	1	*Bad Seed, The*	wife of military officer	38
Gates, Nancy	2	*World Without End*	daughter of leader, 26th century Earth	36
Leigh, Janet	2	*Living It Up*	journalist for New York City newspaper	32
Evans, Joan	1	*Outcast, The*	upwardly mobile daughter of poor rancher	31
Garland, Judy	2	*Star is Born, A*	actress, singing star	31
Mayo, Virginia	2	*Congo Crossing*	fugitive murder suspect	30
Russell, Jane	2	*Foxfire*	daughter of rich Eastern nwspaper owner	24
McLeod, Catherine	2	*Outcast, The*	member of leisure class; intends to marry prominent citizen	20
Corday, Mara	2	*Black Scorpion, The*	owner of large ranch; will marry geology professor	18
Day, Doris	2	*Young at Heart*	small-town daughter of music professor	11
Wyman, Jane	2	*Lucy Gallant*	fashion boutique enterpreneur	6

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-8. Role Status of Female Subjects (continued)

Decade 6: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Hepburn, Katharine*	1	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	wife of wealthy San Francisco newspaper owner	89
Bancroft, Anne	1	*Graduate, The*	member of upper middle-class	78
Hayward, Susan*	1	*Valley of the Dolls*	successful Broadway star	59
Houghton, Katharine	1	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	daughter of wealthy San Francisco newspaper owner	54
Parkins, Barbara	2	*Valley of the Dolls*	secretary, successful model from New England	49
Wood, Natalie	2	*Great Race, The*	turn of century journalist/suffragette	44
Bergen, Candice	2	*Sand Pebbles, The*	teacher, missionary	43
Ashley, Elizabeth	1	*Third Day, The*	wealthy daughter of company's owner	41
Lane, Jocelyn	?	*Tickle Me*	local Western girl who will inherit	40
Taylor, Elizabeth	2	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	professor's wife; daughter of college president	38
Farr, Felicia	1	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	wife of church organist in Nevada town	37
Walley, Deborah	1	*Ghost in the Invisible Bikini, The*	daughter of carnival operator; will inherit	27
Ann-Margret	2	*Stagecoach*	saloon girl in Old West	24
Harris, Barbara	2	*Thousand Clowns, A*	New York City socialworker	22
Welch, Raquel	2	*Fantastic Voyage*	medical technician	21
Duke, Patty	2	*Valley of the Dolls*	singer/actor from Pittsburgh	19
Lansbury, Angela*	1	*Dear Heart*	widow with teenage son	19
Dennis, Sandy	2	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	university professor's wife; daughter of preacher	13
Priest, Pat	2	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	rich girl with few morals	11
Ann-Margret	2	*Swinger, The*	writer from St. Paul (wholesome character)	9
Hartman, Elizabeth	2	*Patch of Blue, A*	unschooled blind woman in South	9
Saint, Eva Marie	1	*The Russians Are Coming*	young mother & wife of musical comedy writer	7
Dromm, Andrea	1	*The Russians Are Coming*	babysitter	6
Tate, Sharon	2	*Valley of the Dolls*	actress	6
Day, Doris	2	*Send Me No Flowers*	white-collar housewife	1
Funicello, Annette	2	*Monkey's Uncle, The*	college student	1
Marshall, Dodie	?	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	Bohemian art-lover	1
Adams, Edie	2	*Best Man, The*	wife of senator running for president	0
Barry, Patricia	2	*Dear Heart*	greeting card designer	0

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-8. Role Status of Female Subjects (continued)

Decade 6 (continued):	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Fonda, Jane	2	*Any Wednesday*	working girl	0
Page, Geraldine	2	*Dear Heart*	postmistress from Ohio	0
Ross, Katharine	2	*Graduate, The*	daughter of well-off family	0
Decade 7:				
Fisher, Carrie*	2	*Star Wars*	princess	51
Blakeley, Susan	?	*Towering Inferno, The*	daughter of boss	19
Hassett, Marilyn	2	*Two-Minute Warning*	elite art appreciator	19
Streisand, Barbra	1	*Star is Born, A*	rising-star singer	18
Dunaway, Fay	1	*Towering Inferno, The*	architect, wife of architect	15
Harris, Barbara	2	*Freaky Friday*	housewife/mother of 13-year-old	13
Griffith, Melanie	1	*Night Moves*	wealthy runaway, age 16	10
Field, Sally	2	*Smokey and the Bandit*	professional dancer in Texas	7
Loy, Myrna*	2	*Airport 1975*	elderly airline passenger	7
Clark, Susan	2	*Night Moves*	detective's wife	5
Danner, Blythe	2	*Futureworld*	TV journalist	4
Fisher, Carrie	2	*Empire Strikes Back*	princess, leader	3
Fletcher, Louise	1	*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*	nurse in hospital mental ward	3
Jones, Jennifer*	2	*Towering Inferno, The*	teacher/caregiver	3
Arnaz, Lucie	2	*Who is the Black Dahlia?*	18-year-old aspiring actress from Maine	2
Burstyn, Ellen	2	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	35-year-old housewife from California	2
Warren, Jennifer	1	*Night Moves*	smuggler	2
Welch, Raquel	2	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	secretary, ambulance driver	1
Black, Karen	2	*Airport 1975*	airline stewardess	0
Buckley, Betty	2	*Carrie*	high school gym teacher	0
Clayburgh, Jill	1	*Silver Streak*	secretary	0
Clayburgh, Jill	1	*Semi-Tough*	daughter of Florida football team owner	0
Dillon, Melinda	2	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	middle class mother of young boy	0
Garr, Teri	2	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	lower middle class suburban housewife	0
Garr, Teri	2	*Oh, God*	wife of supermarket manager	0
Norris, Chris	1	*Airport 1975*	airline stewardess from Kansas	0
Spacek, Sissy	2	*Carrie*	shy high schooler	0

Table A-9. Role Status of Male Subjects

Decade 3: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Howard, Leslie*	1	*Stand-In, The*	intellectual banker	100
Lindon, Eric	1	*Silver Cord, The*	wealthy son	98
Astaire, Fred	1	*Top Hat*	famous dancer	95
William, Warren	2	*Golddiggers of 1933*	older brother, wealthy family	92
Astaire, Fred	1	*Gay Divorcee, The*	famous dancer	89
Menjou, Adolphe	2	*Morning Glory*	film company manager	81
Astaire, Fred	1	*Swing Time*	poor dancer	79
Fairbanks, Douglas	2	*Morning Glory*	screenwriter	68
Powell, William	2	*Libeled Lady, The*	newspaper journalist	68
March, Fredric	2	*Star is Born, A*	film star	65
March, Fredric	2	*Nothing Sacred*	newspaper journalist	58
Astaire, Fred	1	*Shall We Dance?*	famous dancer from Philadelphia	56
McCrea, Joel	2	*Silver Cord, The*	architect	40
Gable, Clark	2	*San Francisco*	bar-dance hall owner	25
Armstrong, Robert	2	*King Kong*	filmmaker	23
Gable, Clark	2	*It Happened One Night*	newspaper journalist	22
Cabot, Bruce	2	*King Kong*	sailor, second in command	18
Gable, Clark	2	*Call of the Wild, The*	prospector	15
Kibbee, Guy	2	*Golddiggers of 1933*	older lawyer	15
Tracy, Spencer	2	*Libeled Lady, The*	newspaper journalist	15
Wayne, John	2	*Dawn Rider, The*	local boy	11
Powell, Dick	2	*Golddiggers of 1933*	young composer secretly upper class	10
Wayne, John	2	*Desert Trail, The*	cowboy	5
Wayne, John	2	*West of the Divide*	local boy	0
Wayne, John	2	*Lucky Texan, The*	cowboy	0

1=non-rhotic native 2=rhotic native ?=unknown native region

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-9. Role Status of Male Subjects (continued)

Decade 4: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Milland, Ray*	1	*Lost Weekend, The*	alcoholic writer	92
Bracken, Eddie	1	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	soldier	90
Garfield, John	1	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	drifter	87
Grant, Cary*	1	*Bishop's Wife, The*	angel	87
Bogart, Humphrey	1	*To Have and Not Have*	expatriate with various enterprises	85
Grant, Cary*	1	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	artist (painter)	75
Ryan, Edward	?	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	local boy	68
Peck, Gregory	2	*Gentleman's Agreement*	journalist for magazine	59
Kaye, Danny	1	*Wonder Man*	studious researcher	55
Cotten, Joseph	1	*I'll Be Seeing You*	shell-shocked soldier	51
Kelly, Gene	2	*Cover Girl*	dance hall owner, dancer	49
Cotten, Joseph	1	*Love Letters*	soldier	48
Astaire, Fred	1	*Ziegfield Follies*	famous dancer	41
Wilde, Cornel	1	*Leave Her to Heaven*	writer	40
Astaire, Fred	1	*Yolanda and the Thief*	con man	37
MacMurray, Fred	2	*Double Indemnity*	insurance agent	31
Ford, Glenn	2	*Gilda*	good guy manager of casino	28
Young, Robert	2	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	injured soldier	15
Young, Robert	2	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	army lieutenant	10
Rogers, Roy	2	*Bells of San Angelo, The*	border patrol cowboy	8
Wayne, John	2	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	Montana cowboy	7
Stewart, James	2	*It's a Wonderful Life*	savings & loan owner	2
Elliott, William	2	*Plainsman and the Lady, The*	business enterpreneur, saloon owner	0
Wayne, John	2	*Angel and the Bad Man*	cowboy	0

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-9. Role Status of Male Subjects (continued)

Decade 5: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Grant, Cary*	1	*To Catch a Thief*	reformed jewel thief	88
Webb, Clifton*	2	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	well-known writer, older	77
Curtis, Tony	1	*Johnny Dark*	auto engineer & designer	67
Sinatra, Frank	1	*Young at Heart*	hard-luck case poor musician	67
Astaire, Fred	1	*Silk Stockings*	Hollywood producer	52
Mitchum, Robert	1	*River of No Return*	farmer, frontiersman	47
Astaire, Fred	1	*Funny Face*	fashion magazine photographer	46
Payne, John	1	*Santa Fe Passage*	cowboy scout	26
Peck, Gregory	2	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	white-collar worker	25
Douglas, Kirk	2	*Top Secret Affair*	general, military diplomat	21
Chandler, Jeff	1	*Foxfire*	mining engineer, son of professor & Indian princess	17
Reason, Rex	?	*This Island Earth*	scientist	17
Gable, Clark	2	*Soldier of Fortune*	good-guy wealthy smuggler in Hong Kong	14
Martin, Dean	2	*Living It Up*	country doctor in New Mexico	11
Heston, Charlton	2	*Lucy Gallant*	rancher who finds oil	10
Young, Gig	2	*Young at Heart*	successful composer	8
Hayden, Sterling	2	*Naked Alibi*	police detective	7
Denning, Richard	2	*Black Scorpion, The*	geology professor	3
Derek, John	2	*Outcast, The*	son of deceased town leader/rancher	3
Stewart, James	2	*Rear Window*	New York magazine photographer	3
Hopper, Bill	2	*Bad Seed, The*	colonel with administrative job	2
Marlowe, Hugh	2	*World Without End*	space rocket commander	2
Nader, George	2	*Congo Crossing*	surveyer	0

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-9. Role Status of Male Subjects (continued)

Decade 6: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Osmond, Cliff*	?	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	amateur musician, gas station worker, comic sidekick	84
Poitier, Sydney	1	*Patch of Blue, A*	white-collar worker in South	69
Curtis, Tony	1	*Great Race, The*	car racer at turn of century	67
Burke, Paul	1	*Valley of the Dolls*	nephew of boss; arts agent; had English mother	63
Poitier, Sydney	1	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	renowned medical doctor	62
Franciosa, Tony	1	*Swinger, The*	photographer for magazine	58
Segal, George	1	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	biology professor	58
Reiner, Carl	1	*The Russians are Coming*	musical comedy writer	40
Walston, Ray	1	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	music teacher/church organist in small Nevada town	35
Cord, Alex	1	*Stagecoach*	crack shot cowboy in Old West	31
Boyd, Stephen*	1	*Fantastic Voyage*	American communications expert	28
Milner, Martin	2	*Valley of the Dolls*	writer & publicist	27
Presley, Elvis	1	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	Navy diver	27
Scotti, Tony	1	*Valley of the Dolls*	singer & actor	26
Tracy, Spencer*	2	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	San Francisco newspaper owner	19
Presley, Elvis	1	*Tickle Me*	rodeo rider	18
Walker, Clint	2	*Send Me No Flowers*	oil-rich Southwesterner	16
Kirk, Tommy	2	*Ghost in the Invisible Bikini, The*	son of carnival operator; will inherit	11
Martin, Dean	2	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	famous Las Vegas singer & recording star	10
McQueen, Steve	2	*Sand Pebbles, The*	sailor in US Navy in 1920's China	10
Peppard, George	2	*Third Day, The*	husband of rich boss' daughter	8
Ford, Glenn	2	*Dear Heart*	greeting card salesman	3
Robards, Jason	2	*Thousand Clowns, A*	comedy actor	2
Hoffman, Dustin	2	*Graduate, The*	21-year-old from well-off family	0
Hudson, Rock	2	*Send Me No Flowers*	white collar worker in suburbia	0
Kirk, Tommy	2	*Monkey's Uncle, The*	whiz kid college student	0
Randall, Tony	2	*Send Me No Flowers*	lawyer	0
Robards, Jason	2	*Any Wednesday*	wealthy businessman	0
Robertson, Cliff	2	*Best Man, The*	US Senator running for president	0

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-9. Role Status of Male Subjects (continued)

Decade 7: subject	*region*	*film*	*role status*	*(r) rate*
Burns, George*	1	*Oh God!*	God (comic character)	83
Garfield, Allen	1	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	boss of ambulance company	66
Keitel, Harvey	1	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	police officer/ambulance driver	45
Astaire, Fred*	1	*Towering Inferno, The*	elderly con man	28
Chamberlain, Richard	2	*Towering Inferno, The*	playboy married to boss' daughter	22
Dreyfuss, Richard	1	*Goodbye Girl, The*	actor from Chicago	18
Keitel, Harvey	1	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	Southern two-timer	14
Dreyfuss, Richard	1	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	electric lineman	13
Cosby, Bill	1	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	ambulance driver	11
Reynolds, Burt	1	*Semi-Tough*	professional football player	10
Reynolds, Burt	1	*Smokey and the Bandit*	trucker, smuggler	8
Hagman, Larry	2	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	ambulance driver	7
Kristofferson, Kris	2	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	modern cowboy in West	7
Wilder, Gene	2	*Silver Streak*	shy publisher from Los Angeles	4
Kristofferson, Kris	2	*Semi-Tough*	professional football player	2
Newman, Paul	2	*Towering Inferno, The*	architect	2
Kristofferson, Kris	2	*Star is Born, A*	fading singing star	1
Denver, John	2	*Oh, God*	supermarket manager	0
Fonda, Peter	2	*Futureworld*	journalist	0
Ford, Harrison	2	*Star Wars*	smuggler, pilot	0
Hackman, Gene	2	*Night Moves*	detective	0
Hamill, Mark	2	*Star Wars*	farm boy, pilot	0
Hamill, Mark	2	*The Empire Strikes Back*	pilot, fighter	0
Heston, Charlton	2	*Airport 1975*	pilot	0
Holden, William	2	*Towering Inferno, The*	boss/builder of skyscraper	0
Katt, William	2	*Carrie*	high school boy	0
McQueen, Steve	2	*Towering Inferno, The*	fire chief	0
Nicholson, Jack	2	*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*	rebellious free spirit in prison	0

*subject or subject-role is outside parameters for decade rate calculation

Table A-10. Female Subjects in Multiple Roles of Same Decade

Subject	*year*	*film title*	*role status/profession*	*(r) rate*
Ann-Margret	66	*The Swinger*	wholesome writer from St. Paul	9
	66	*Stagecoach*	saloon girl in Old West	24
			average	**17**
Blondell, Joan	33	*Golddiggers of 1933*	chorus girl	38
	37	*The Stand-In*	actress, secretary	62
			average	**50**
Clayburgh, Jill	76	*Silver Streak*	secretary	0
	77	*Semi-Tough*	daughter of Florida football team owner	0
			average	**0**
Domergue, Faith	54	*Santa Fe Passage*	wealthy daughter of Indian princess	82
	55	*This Island Earth*	scientist	83
			average	**83**
Fisher, Carrie	77	*Star Wars*	princess	51
	80	*The Empire Strikes Back*	princess, leader	3
			average	**27**
Garr, Teri	77	*Close Encounters of the 3rd Kind*	lower middle class suburban housewife	0
	77	*Oh, God!*	wife of supermarket manager	0
			average	**0**
Hayward, Susan	55	*Soldier of Fortune*	wife of photographer	82
	56	*Top Secret Affair*	news publisher	73
			average	**78**
Hayworth, Rita	44	*Cover Girl*	singing star	49
	46	*Gilda*	wife of casino owner	55
			average	**52**
Kelly, Grace	54	*Rear Window*	wealthy employee of fashion house	87
	54	*To Catch a Thief*	finishing-school nouveau-riche heir	96
			average	**92**
McGuire, Dorothy	45	*The Enchanted Cottage*	orphaned, shy loner, 'ugly' villager	34
	47	*Gentleman's Agreement*	divorced daughter of magazine editor	59
			average	**47**
Rogers, Ginger	33	*Golddiggers of 1933*	chorus girl	40
	34	*The Gay Divorcee*	wife of geologist; from wealthy family	44
	35	*Top Hat*	member of leisure-class	53
	36	*Swing Time*	dance instructor	40
	37	*Shall We Dance?*	professional dancer	45
			average	**44**

Table A-11. Male Subjects in Multiple Roles of Same Decade

Subject	*year*	*film title*	*role status/profession*	*(r) rate*
Astaire, Fred	34	*The Gay Divorcee*	famous dancer	89
	35	*Top Hat*	dancer	95
	36	*Swing Time*	poor dancer	79
	37	*Shall We Dance?*	famous dancer from Philadelphia	56
			average	**80**
Astaire, Fred	44	*Ziegfield Follies*	himself: famous dancer	41
	45	*Yolanda and the Thief*	con man	37
			average	**39**
Astaire, Fred	56	*Funny Face*	fashion magazine photographer	46
	57	*Silk Stockings*	Hollywood producer	52
			average	**49**
Cotten, Joseph	44	*I'll Be Seeing You*	shell-shocked soldier	51
	45	*Love Letters*	soldier	48
			average	**50**
Dreyfuss, Richard	77	*Close Encounters of the 3rd Kind*	electric lineman	13
	77	*The Goodbye Girl*	actor from Chicago	18
			average	**16**
Gable, Clark	34	*It Happened One Night*	journalist	22
	35	*Call of the Wild*	prospector	15
	36	*San Francisco*	bar-dance hall owner	25
			average	**21**
Grant, Cary	47	*The Bachelor & the Bobby-Soxer*	artist	75
	47	*The Bishop's Wife*	angel	87
			average	**81**
Hamill, Mark	77	*Star Wars*	farm boy, pilot	0
	80	*The Empire Strikes Back*	pilot, fighter	0
			average	**0**
Keitel, Harvey	74	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	Southern two-timer	14
	76	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	police officer/ambulance driver	45
			average	**30**
Kirk, Tommy	65	*The Monkey's Uncle*	whiz kid college student	0
	66	*The Ghost in the Invisible Bikini*	son of carnival operator who will inherit	11
			average	**6**

Table A-11. Male Subjects in Multiple Roles of Same Decade (continued)

Subject	*year*	*film title*	*role status/profession*	*(r) rate*
Kristofferson, Kris	74	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	modern cowboy in West	7
	76	*A Star is Born*	fading singing star	1
	77	*Semi-Tough*	professional football player	2
			average	**3**
March, Fredric	37	*A Star is Born*	film star	65
	37	*Nothing Sacred*	journalist for New York City newspaper	58
			average	**62**
Poitier, Sydney	65	*A Patch of Blue*	white collar worker	69
	67	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	famous doctor	62
			average	**66**
Presley, Elvis	65	*Tickle Me*	rodeo rider	18
	66	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	Navy diver	27
			average	**23**
Reynolds, Burt	77	*Semi-Tough*	professional football player	10
	77	*Smokey & the Bandit*	trucker	8
			average	**9**
Robards, Jason	65	*A Thousand Clowns*	comedy actor	2
	66	*Any Wednesday*	wealthy businessman	0
			average	**1**
Wayne, John	33	*West of the Divide*	local boy	0
	34	*The Lucky Texan*	cowboy	0
	35	*The Dawn Rider*	local boy	11
	35	*The Desert Trail*	cowboy	5
			average	**4**
Wayne, John	45	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	Montana cowboy	7
	47	*Angel and the Bad Man*	cowboy	0
			average	**4**
Young, Robert	45	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	army lieutenant	10
	45	*The Enchanted Cottage*	injured soldier	15
			average	**13**

Table A-12. Male Subjects in Sympathetic "Bad Guy" Roles

subject /film	*status*	*rate & subcategory decade average*	*rank in native rhoticity subcategory*
Fred Astaire *Yolanda and the Thief* (1945)	con man	37 (64 or 22)	first or last*
Humphrey Bogart *To Have and Not Have* (1945)	smuggler	85 (64)	fourth (out of 12)
Cary Grant *To Catch a Thief* (1954)	jewel thief	88 (46)	first
Clark Gable *Soldier of Fortune* (1955)	smuggler	14 (9)	first
Fred Astaire *The Towering Inferno* (1974)	con man	28 (26 or 3)	first or last*
Burt Reynolds *Smokey and the Bandit* (1977)	bootlegger	8 (26 or 3)	first or last*
Jack Nicholson *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975)	prison inmate	0 (3)	last
Harrison Ford *Star Wars* (1977)	smuggler	0 (3)	last

*If the subject's rhoticity category is non-rhotic, his rank is last; if his category is rhotic, his rank is first. Reynolds was born in Georgia, but grew up in Florida. Astaire was born in Nebraska but was stage-trained in New York City from the age of four. Both subjects might be considered rhotic natives, though their data has been analyzed in this study as if they are non-rhotic natives.

Table A-13. Film Character's Purported Native Region

subject	*date*	*film*	*character's region*	*decade rank*	*rate*
Decade 3					
Hepburn, Katharine	33	*Morning Glory*	Vermont	1	100
MacDonald, Jeanette	36	*San Francisco*	Colorado	3	94
Sheldon, Barbara	34	*Lucky Texan, The*	Iowa	5	90
Crawford, Joan	32	*Rain*	Kansas	7	85
Gaynor, Janet	37	*Star is Born, A*	South Dakota	8	84
Lombard, Carole	37	*Nothing Sacred*	Vermont	16	55
Rogers, Ginger	34	*Gay Divorcee, The*	Chicago	19	44
Decade 4				*(of 23)*	
Marshall, Trudy	44	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	Iowa	3	86
Stanwyck, Barbara	44	*Double Indemnity*	Los Angeles	4	76
Baxter, Anne	44	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	Iowa	9	55
Turner, Lana	46	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	California	10	51
Jones, Jennifer	45	*Love Letters*	Canada	15	24
Bremer, Lucille	45	*Yolanda and the Thief*	Mexico	16	16
Raines, Ella	44	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	California	21	6
Decade 5				*(of 22)*	
Domergue, Faith	54	*Santa Fe Passage*	The West	5	82
Peters, Jean	54	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	The West	6	80
Grahame, Gloria	54	*Naked Alibi*	New Jersey	12	43
Russell, Jane	55	*Foxfire*	The Northeast	19	24
McLeod, Catherine	54	*Outcast, The*	Virginia	20	20
Corday, Mara	57	*Black Scorpion, The*	Mexico	21	18
Decade 6				*(of 23)*	
Houghton, Katharine	67	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	San Francisco	4	54
Parkins, Barbara	67	*Valley of the Dolls*	New England	5	49
Lane, Jocelyn	65	*Tickle Me*	The Southwest	9	40
Harris, Barbara	65	*Thousand Clowns, A*	New York City	14	22
Duke, Patty	67	*Valley of the Dolls*	Pittsburgh	16	19
Lansbury, Angela	65	*Dear Heart*	Pennsylvania	16	19
Ann-Margret	66	*Swinger, The*	Minnesota	19	9
Hartman, Elizabeth	65	*Patch of Blue, A*	The Southeast	19	9
Page, Geraldine	65	*Dear Heart*	Ohio	23	0
Decade 7				*(of 23)*	
Field, Sally	77	*Smokey and the Bandit*	the South	8	7
Arnaz, Lucie	75	*Who is the Black Dahlia?*	Maine	12	2
Burstyn, Ellen	74	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	California	12	2
Norris, Chris	74	*Airport 1975*	Kansas	14	0
				(of 14)	

Table A-13 Film Character's Purported Native Region (continued)

subject	*date*	*film*	*character's region*	*decade rank*	*rate*
Decade 3					
Astaire, Fred	37	*Shall We Dance?*	Philadelphia	11	56
Wayne, John	35	*Dawn Rider, The*	Southwest	18	11
Wayne, John	33	*West of the Divide*	Southwest	21	0
Decade 4				*(of 20)*	
Bracken, Eddie	44	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	California	2	90
Ryan, Edward	44	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	Iowa	6	68
Peck, Gregory	47	*Gentleman's Agreement*	California	7	59
Wayne, John	47	*Angel and the Bad Man*	Montana	22	0
Decade 5				*(of 22)*	
Chandler, Jeff	55	*Foxfire*	Arizona	10	17
Martin, Dean	54	*Living It Up*	New Mexico	12	11
Decade 6				*(of 18)*	
Poitier, Sydney	67	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	Los Angeles	5	62
Decade 7				*(of 21)*	
Dreyfuss, Richard	77	*Goodbye Girl, The*	Chicago	6	18
Keitel, Harvey	74	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	The Southwest	7	14
Reynolds, Burt	77	*Smokey and the Bandit*	The Southeast	11	8
Kristofferson, Kris	74	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	The Southwest	12	7
Wilder, Gene	76	*Silver Streak*	Los Angeles	13	4
				(of 16)	

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Blondell, Joan	New York, NY	1909	24	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	chorus girl
Blondell, Joan	New York, NY	1909	28	*Stand-In, The*	37	actress, secretary
Brown, Virginia F.	Brooklyn, NY	1904	29	*West of the Divide*	33	daughter of cattle rancher
Burns, Marion	Los Angeles, CA	1907	28	*Dawn Rider, The*	35	townsperson
Crawford, Joan	San Antonio, TX	1904	28	*Rain*	32	woman of questionable morals, from Kansas
Colbert, Claudette	Paris, France	1905	29	*It Happened One Night*	34	millionaire's daughter
Dee, Frances	Los Angeles, CA	1907	26	*Silver Cord, The*	33	member of leisure class
Duncan, Mary	Luttrellville, VA	1895	38	*Morning Glory*	33	spoiled prima donna actress
Dunne, Irene	Louisville, KY	1898	35	*Silver Cord, The*	33	scientist married to architect
Furness, Betty	New York, NY	1916	20	*Swing Time*	36	member of leisure class
Gaynor, Janet	Philadelphia, PA	1906	31	*Star is Born, A*	37	actress from North Dakota farm
Harlow, Jean	Kansas City, MO	1911	25	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	member of leisure class
Hepburn, Katharine	Hartford, CT	1907	26	*Morning Glory*	33	aspiring actress from Vermont
Keeler, Ruby	Halifax, Canada	1909	24	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	chorus girl who will marry wealthy heir
Kornman, Mary	Idaho Falls, ID	1915	20	*Desert Trail, The*	35	orphan working as store clerk
Lombard, Carole	Ft. Wayne, IN	1908	29	*Nothing Sacred*	37	townsperson from Vermont
Loy, Myrna	Raidersburg, MT	1905	31	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	wealthy heiress
MacDonald, Jeanette	Philadelphia, PA	1901	35	*San Francisco*	36	Colorado minister's daughter, opera singer
MacMahon, Aline	McKeesport, PA	1899	34	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	chorus girl
Rogers, Ginger	Independence, MO	1911	22	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	chorus girl
Rogers, Ginger	Independence, MO	1911	23	*Gay Divorcee, The*	34	wife of geologist; from wealthy Chicago family
Rogers, Ginger	Independence, MO	1911	24	*Top Hat*	35	member of leisure class
Rogers, Ginger	Independence, MO	1911	26	*Shall We Dance?*	37	professional dancer
Rogers, Ginger	Independence, MO	1911	25	*Swing Time*	36	dance instructor

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued) **(r) variable:**

subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Blondell, Joan	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	12	35	34%	11	25	44%	**23**	**60**	**38%**
Blondell, Joan	*Stand-In, The*	37	25	46	54%	42	62	68%	**67**	**108**	**62%**
Brown, Virginia F.	*West of the Divide*	33	4	13	31%	16	21	76%	**20**	**34**	**59%**
Burns, Marion	*Dawn Rider, The*	35	6	11	55%	12	15	80%	**18**	**26**	**69%**
Crawford, Joan	*Rain*	32	33	41	80%	48	54	89%	**81**	**95**	**85%**
Colbert, Claudette	*It Happened One Night*	34	37	44	84%	41	51	80%	**78**	**95**	**82%**
Dee, Frances	*Silver Cord, The*	33	18	30	60%	24	30	80%	**42**	**60**	**70%**
Duncan, Mary	*Morning Glory*	33	38	38	100%	51	51	100%	**89**	**89**	**100%**
Dunne, Irene	*Silver Cord, The*	33	26	31	84%	28	31	90%	**54**	**62**	**87%**
Furness, Betty	*Swing Time*	36	4	4	100%	15	17	88%	**19**	**21**	**90%**
Gaynor, Janet	*Star is Born, A*	37	50	58	86%	49	60	82%	**99**	**118**	**84%**
Harlow, Jean	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	21	22	95%	35	38	92%	**56**	**60**	**93%**
Hepburn, Katharine	*Morning Glory*	33	42	42	100%	34	34	100%	**76**	**76**	**100%**
Keeler, Ruby	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	14	22	64%	17	28	61%	**31**	**50**	**62%**
Kornman, Mary	*Desert Trail, The*	35	1	5	20%	2	14	14%	**3**	**19**	**16%**
Lombard, Carole	*Nothing Sacred*	37	19	37	51%	26	45	58%	**45**	**82**	**55%**
Loy, Myrna	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	26	28	93%	28	28	100%	**54**	**56**	**96%**
MacDonald, Jeanette	*San Francisco*	36	41	41	100%	48	54	89%	**89**	**95**	**94%**
MacMahon, Aline	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	6	33	18%	5	28	18%	**11**	**61**	**18%**
Rogers, Ginger	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	2	8	25%	4	7	57%	**6**	**15**	**40%**
Rogers, Ginger	*Gay Divorcee, The*	34	15	41	37%	26	52	50%	**41**	**93**	**44%**
Rogers, Ginger	*Top Hat*	35	28	46	61%	21	47	45%	**49**	**93**	**53%**
Rogers, Ginger	*Shall We Dance?*	37	20	43	47%	23	53	43%	**43**	**96**	**45%**
Rogers, Ginger	*Swing Time*	36	9	32	28%	20	40	50%	**29**	**72**	**40%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Wray, Fay	Alberta, Canada	1907	26	*King Kong*	33	actress
Young, Loretta	Salt Lake City, UT	1913	22	*Call of the Wild, The*	35	wife of British-accented prospector
Bacall, Lauren	Bronx, NY	1924	21	*To Have and Not Have*	45	woman of mystery, pickpocket
Baxter, Anne	Michigan City, IN	1923	21	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	44	middle class townsgirl in Iowa
Bremer, Lucille	Amsterdam, NY	1923	22	*Yolanda and the Thief*	45	very innocent young Mexican heiress
Crain, Jeanne	Barstow, CA	1925	19	*Leave Her to Heaven*	44	orphan adopted by wealthier relatives
Day, Laraine	Roosevelt, UT	1917	28	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	45	worker in perfume dept. of expensive NY store
Dvorak, Ann	New York, NY	1912	33	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	45	star nightclub singer
Evans, Dale	Uvalde, TX	1912	35	*Bells of San Angelo, The*	47	famous writer
Hayworth, Rita	Brooklyn, NY	1918	26	*Cover Girl*	44	singing star
Hayworth, Rita	Brooklyn, NY	1918	28	*Gilda*	46	"bad girl" married to casino owner
Jones, Jennifer	Tulsa, OK	1919	26	*Love Letters*	45	adopted Canadian orphan in Britain
Loy, Myrna	Raidersburg, MT	1905	42	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	47	judge, unmarried, age in 30's
Marshall, Trudy	Brooklyn, NY	1922	22	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	44	middle class townsgirl in Iowa
Mayo, Virginia	St. Louis, MO	1920	25	*Wonder Man*	45	librarian
McGuire, Dorothy	Omaha, NE	1918	27	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	45	orphaned, shy loner, 'ugly' villager
McGuire, Dorothy	Omaha, NE	1918	29	*Gentleman's Agreement*	47	divorced daughter of magazine editor
Patrick, Gail	Birmingham, AL	1911	35	*Plainsman and the Lady, The*	46	banker's wife (negative character)
Raines, Ella	Snoqualmie Falls, WA	1921	23	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	44	California townsperson
Reed, Donna	Dennison, IA	1921	25	*It's a Wonderful Life*	46	middle class townsperson
Rogers, Ginger	Independence, MO	1911	33	*I'll Be Seeing You*	44	secretary wrongly imprisoned
Rohe, Vera-Ellen	Cincinnati, OH	1926	19	*Wonder Man*	45	showgirl
Russell, Gail	Chicago, IL	1924	23	*Angel and the Bad Man*	47	very innocent Quaker daughter
Stanwyck, Barbara	Brooklyn, NY	1907	37	*Double Indemnity*	44	wife of oil rig manager (negative character)

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Wray, Fay	*King Kong*	33	24	26	92%	9	15	60%	**33**	**41**	**80%**
Young, Loretta	*Call of the Wild, The*	35	22	32	69%	32	41	78%	**54**	**73**	**74%**
Bacall, Lauren	*To Have and Not Have*	45	16	22	73%	50	54	93%	**66**	**76**	**87%**
Baxter, Anne	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	44	13	22	59%	21	40	53%	**34**	**62**	**55%**
Bremer, Lucille	*Yolanda and the Thief*	45	5	32	16%	9	54	17%	**14**	**86**	**16%**
Crain, Jeanne	*Leave Her to Heaven*	44	10	23	43%	14	39	36%	**24**	**62**	**39%**
Day, Laraine	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	45	26	34	76%	33	52	63%	**59**	**86**	**69%**
Dvorak, Ann	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	45	16	28	57%	27	49	55%	**43**	**77**	**56%**
Evans, Dale	*Bells of San Angelo, The*	47	2	28	7%	4	43	9%	**6**	**71**	**8%**
Hayworth, Rita	*Cover Girl*	44	21	45	47%	29	57	51%	**50**	**102**	**49%**
Hayworth, Rita	*Gilda*	46	15	28	54%	28	50	56%	**43**	**78**	**55%**
Jones, Jennifer	*Love Letters*	45	15	56	27%	12	56	21%	**27**	**112**	**24%**
Loy, Myrna	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	47	32	48	67%	38	53	72%	**70**	**101**	**69%**
Marshall, Trudy	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	44	10	13	77%	8	8	100%	**18**	**21**	**86%**
Mayo, Virginia	*Wonder Man*	45	28	48	58%	34	51	67%	**62**	**99**	**63%**
McGuire, Dorothy	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	45	18	51	35%	17	51	33%	**35**	**102**	**34%**
McGuire, Dorothy	*Gentleman's Agreement*	47	17	26	65%	29	52	56%	**46**	**78**	**59%**
Patrick, Gail	*Plainsman and the Lady, The*	46	12	24	50%	30	51	59%	**42**	**75**	**56%**
Raines, Ella	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	44	4	53	8%	2	52	4%	**6**	**105**	**6%**
Reed, Donna	*It's a Wonderful Life*	46	6	33	18%	3	54	6%	**9**	**87**	**10%**
Rogers, Ginger	*I'll Be Seeing You*	44	4	56	7%	10	55	18%	**14**	**111**	**13%**
Rohe, Vera-Ellen	*Wonder Man*	45	0	6	0%	1	10	10%	**1**	**16**	**6%**
Russell, Gail	*Angel and the Bad Man*	47	0	21	0%	0	39	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Stanwyck, Barbara	*Double Indemnity*	44	20	28	71%	41	52	79%	**61**	**80**	**76%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Temple, Shirley	Santa Monica, CA	1928	19	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	47	teenager in educated family
Tierney, Gene	Brooklyn, NY	1920	24	*Leave Her to Heaven*	44	wealthy family (negative character)
Turner, Lana	Wallace, ID	1920	26	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	46	wife of store-owner
Wyman, Jane	St. Joseph, MO	1914	31	*Lost Weekend, The*	45	member of leisure class
Young, Loretta	Salt Lake City, UT	1913	34	*Bishop's Wife, The*	47	wife of British-accented Episcopal bishop
Corday, Mara	Santa Monica, CA	1932	25	*Black Scorpion, The*	57	owner of large ranch; will marry geology professor
Day, Doris	Cincinnati, OH	1924	30	*Young at Heart*	54	small-town daughter of music professor
Domergue, Faith	New Orleans, LA	1925	29	*Santa Fe Passage*	54	wealthy daughter of trapper and Indian princess
Domergue, Faith	New Orleans, LA	1925	30	*This Island Earth*	55	scientist
Evans, Joan	New York, NY	1934	20	*Outcast, The*	54	upwardly mobile daughter of poor rancher
Garland, Judy	Grand Rapids, MI	1922	32	*Star is Born, A*	54	actress, singing star
Gates, Nancy	Dallas, TX	1926	30	*World Without End*	56	daughter of leader, 26th century Earth
Grahame, Gloria	Los Angeles, CA	1924	30	*Naked Alibi*	54	nightclub singer
Hayward, Susan	Brooklyn, NY	1918	37	*Soldier of Fortune*	55	wife of photographer
Hayward, Susan	Brooklyn, NY	1918	38	*Top Secret Affair*	56	news publisher
Hepburn, Audrey	Belgium	1929	27	*Funny Face*	56	New York bookstore worker, fashion model
Jones, Jennifer	Tulsa, OK	1919	37	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	56	wife of upwardly mobile professional
Kelly, Grace	Philadelphia, PA	1928	26	*Rear Window*	54	wealthy employee of fashion house
Kelly, Grace	Philadelphia, PA	1928	26	*To Catch a Thief*	54	finishing-school nouveau-riche heir
Kelly, Nancy	Lowell, MA	1921	35	*Bad Seed, The*	56	wife of military officer
Laurie, Piper	Detroit, MI	1932	22	*Johnny Dark*	54	auto designer, granddaughter of company's owner
Leigh, Janet	Merced, CA	1927	27	*Living It Up*	54	journalist for New York City newspaper
Mayo, Virginia	St. Louis, MO	1920	36	*Congo Crossing*	56	fugitive murder suspect
McGuire, Dorothy	Omaha, NE	1918	36	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	54	secretary who will marry well-known writer

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued) **(r) variable:**

subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Temple, Shirley	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	47	6	52	12%	9	51	18%	**15**	**103**	**15%**
Tierney, Gene	*Leave Her to Heaven*	44	45	54	83%	52	54	96%	**97**	**108**	**90%**
Turner, Lana	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	46	22	36	61%	23	52	44%	**45**	**88**	**51%**
Wyman, Jane	*Lost Weekend, The*	45	25	47	53%	32	54	59%	**57**	**101**	**56%**
Young, Loretta	*Bishop's Wife, The*	47	8	18	44%	21	50	42%	**29**	**68**	**43%**
Corday, Mara	*Black Scorpion, The*	57	3	32	9%	13	57	23%	**16**	**89**	**18%**
Day, Doris	*Young at Heart*	54	5	54	9%	7	55	13%	**12**	**109**	**11%**
Domergue, Faith	*Santa Fe Passage*	54	37	48	77%	46	53	87%	**83**	**101**	**82%**
Domergue, Faith	*This Island Earth*	55	35	41	85%	33	41	80%	**68**	**82**	**83%**
Evans, Joan	*Outcast, The*	54	4	25	16%	16	39	41%	**20**	**64**	**31%**
Garland, Judy	*Star is Born, A*	54	15	32	47%	9	46	20%	**24**	**78**	**31%**
Gates, Nancy	*World Without End*	56	8	29	28%	14	32	44%	**22**	**61**	**36%**
Grahame, Gloria	*Naked Alibi*	54	12	29	41%	24	54	44%	**36**	**83**	**43%**
Hayward, Susan	*Soldier of Fortune*	55	22	27	81%	41	50	82%	**63**	**77**	**82%**
Hayward, Susan	*Top Secret Affair*	56	19	33	58%	42	51	82%	**61**	**84**	**73%**
Hepburn, Audrey	*Funny Face*	56	18	19	95%	51	51	100%	**69**	**70**	**99%**
Jones, Jennifer	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	56	11	28	39%	27	54	50%	**38**	**82**	**46%**
Kelly, Grace	*Rear Window*	54	46	48	96%	47	59	80%	**93**	**107**	**87%**
Kelly, Grace	*To Catch a Thief*	54	21	21	100%	53	56	95%	**74**	**77**	**96%**
Kelly, Nancy	*Bad Seed, The*	56	14	43	33%	21	50	42%	**35**	**93**	**38%**
Laurie, Piper	*Johnny Dark*	54	22	47	47%	22	39	56%	**44**	**86**	**51%**
Leigh, Janet	*Living It Up*	54	10	30	33%	16	52	31%	**26**	**82**	**32%**
Mayo, Virginia	*Congo Crossing*	56	6	38	16%	20	48	42%	**26**	**86**	**30%**
McGuire, Dorothy	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	54	36	53	68%	29	54	54%	**65**	**107**	**61%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Monroe, Marilyn	Los Angeles, CA	1926	28	*River of No Return*	54	barroom singer-dancer, ca. 1850
Peters, Jean	Canton, OH	1926	28	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	54	secretary who will marry Italian prince
Russell, Jane	Bemidji, MN	1921	34	*Foxfire*	55	daughter of rich Eastern nwspaper owner
Wyman, Jane	St. Joseph, MO	1914	41	*Lucy Gallant*	55	fashion boutique enterpreneur
Adams, Edie	Kingston, PA	1927	37	*Best Man, The*	64	wife of senator running for president
Ann-Margret	Sweden (Illinois)	1941	25	*Swinger, The*	66	writer from St. Paul (wholesome character)
Ann-Margret	Sweden (Illinois)	1941	25	*Stagecoach*	66	saloon girl in Old West
Ashley, Elizabeth	Ocala, FL	1939	26	*Third Day, The*	65	wealthy daughter of company's owner
Bancroft, Anne	Bronx, NY	1931	36	*Graduate, The*	67	member of upper middle-class
Barry, Patricia	Davenport, IA	1930	35	*Dear Heart*	65	greeting card designer
Bergen, Candice	Beverly Hills, CA	1946	20	*Sand Pebbles, The*	66	teacher, missionary
Day, Doris	Cincinnati, OH	1924	40	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	white-collar housewife
Dennis, Sandy	Hastings, NE	1937	29	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	66	university professor's wife; daughter of preacher
Dromm, Andrea	Long Island, NY	1941	25	*The Russians Are Coming*	66	babysitter
Duke, Patty	Elmhurst, NY	1946	21	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	singer/actor from Pittsburgh
Farr, Felicia	Westchester City, NY	1932	32	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	wife of church organist in Nevada town
Fonda, Jane	New York, NY (West)	1937	29	*Any Wednesday*	66	working girl
Funicello, Annette	Utica, NY	1942	23	*Monkey's Uncle, The*	65	college student
Harris, Barbara	Evanston, IL	1935	30	*Thousand Clowns, A*	65	New York City socialworker
Hartman, Elizabeth	Youngstown, OH	1941	24	*Patch of Blue, A*	65	unschooled blind woman in South
Hayward, Susan	Brooklyn, NY	1918	49	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	successful Broadway star
Hepburn, Katharine	Hartford, CT	1907	60	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	wife of wealthy San Francisco newspaper owner
Houghton, Katharine	Hartford, CT	1945	22	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	daughter of wealthy San Francisco newspaper owner
Lane, Jocelyn	Vienna, Austria	1937	28	*Tickle Me*	65	local Western girl who will inherit

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Monroe, Marilyn	*River of No Return*	54	29	54	54%	15	29	52%	**44**	**83**	**53%**
Peters, Jean	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	54	46	55	84%	46	60	77%	**92**	**115**	**80%**
Russell, Jane	*Foxfire*	55	2	23	9%	13	39	33%	**15**	**62**	**24%**
Wyman, Jane	*Lucy Gallant*	55	3	35	9%	2	52	4%	**5**	**87**	**6%**
Adams, Edie	*Best Man, The*	64	0	17	0%	0	25	0%	**0**	**42**	**0%**
Ann-Margret	*Swinger, The*	66	2	31	6%	6	60	10%	**8**	**91**	**9%**
Ann-Margret	*Stagecoach*	66	5	23	22%	13	53	25%	**18**	**76**	**24%**
Ashley, Elizabeth	*Third Day, The*	65	13	40	33%	24	51	47%	**37**	**91**	**41%**
Bancroft, Anne	*Graduate, The*	67	23	36	64%	41	46	89%	**64**	**82**	**78%**
Barry, Patricia	*Dear Heart*	65	0	18	0%	0	18	0%	**0**	**36**	**0%**
Bergen, Candice	*Sand Pebbles, The*	66	7	19	37%	13	27	48%	**20**	**46**	**43%**
Day, Doris	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	0	50	0%	1	34	3%	**1**	**84**	**1%**
Dennis, Sandy	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	66	2	20	10%	7	47	15%	**9**	**67**	**13%**
Dromm, Andrea	*The Russians Are Coming*	66	0	3	0%	1	13	8%	**1**	**16**	**6%**
Duke, Patty	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	6	39	15%	10	45	22%	**16**	**84**	**19%**
Farr, Felicia	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	8	31	26%	22	51	43%	**30**	**82**	**37%**
Fonda, Jane	*Any Wednesday*	66	0	16	0%	0	34	0%	**0**	**50**	**0%**
Funicello, Annette	*Monkey's Uncle, The*	65	0	51	0%	1	35	3%	**1**	**86**	**1%**
Harris, Barbara	*Thousand Clowns, A*	65	9	51	18%	14	52	27%	**23**	**103**	**22%**
Hartman, Elizabeth	*Patch of Blue, A*	65	0	28	0%	7	54	13%	**7**	**82**	**9%**
Hayward, Susan	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	3	10	30%	16	22	73%	**19**	**32**	**59%**
Hepburn, Katharine	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	15	21	71%	48	50	96%	**63**	**71**	**89%**
Houghton, Katharine	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	30	56	54%	38	71	54%	**68**	**127**	**54%**
Lane, Jocelyn	*Tickle Me*	65	15	37	41%	21	52	40%	**36**	**89**	**40%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Lansbury, Angela	London, England	1925	40	*Dear Heart*	65	widow with teenage son
Marshall, Dodie	unknown			*Easy Come, Easy Go*	66	Bohemian art-lover
Page, Geraldine	Kirksville, MO	1924	41	*Dear Heart*	65	postmistress from Ohio
Parkins, Barbara	Vancouver, Canada	1942	25	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	secretary, successful model from New England
Priest, Pat	Bountiful, UT	1936	30	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	66	rich girl with few morals
Ross, Katharine	Los Angeles, CA	1942	25	*Graduate, The*	67	daughter of well-off family
Saint, Eva Marie	Newark, NJ	1924	42	*The Russians Are Coming*	66	young mother & wife of musical comedy writer
Tate, Sharon	Dallas, TX	1943	24	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	actress
Taylor, Elizabeth	London, England (US)	1932	34	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	66	professor's wife; daughter of college president
Walley, Deborah	Bridgeport, CT	1943	23	*Ghost in the Invisible Bikini, The*	66	daughter of carnival operator; will inherit
Welch, Raquel	Chicago, IL	1940	26	*Fantastic Voyage*	66	medical technician
Wood, Natalie	San Francisco, CA	1938	27	*Great Race, The*	65	turn of century journalist/suffragette
Arnaz, Lucie	Los Angeles, CA	1951	24	*Who is the Black Dahlia?*	75	18-year-old aspiring actress from Maine
Black, Karen	Park Ridge, IL	1942	32	*Airport 1975*	74	airline stewardess
Blakeley, Susan	Germany (US)	1948	26	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	daughter of boss
Buckley, Betty	Big Spring, TX	1947	30	*Carrie*	76	high school gym teacher
Burstyn, Ellen	Detroit, MI	1932	42	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	74	35-year-old housewife from California
Clark, Susan	Ontario, Canada	1940	35	*Night Moves*	75	detective's wife
Clayburgh, Jill	New York, NY	1944	32	*Silver Streak*	76	secretary
Clayburgh, Jill	New York, NY	1944	33	*Semi-Tough*	77	daughter of Florida football team owner
Danner, Blythe	Philadelphia, PA	1943	33	*Futureworld*	76	TV journalist
Dillon, Melinda	Hope, AR	1939	38	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	77	middle class mother of young boy
Dunaway, Fay	Basconne, FL	1941	33	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	architect, wife of architect
Field, Sally	Pasadena, CA	1946	31	*Smokey and the Bandit*	77	professional dancer in Texas

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Lansbury, Angela	*Dear Heart*	65	4	23	17%	6	30	20%	**10**	**53**	**19%**
Marshall, Dodie	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	66	0	48	0%	1	53	2%	**1**	**101**	**1%**
Page, Geraldine	*Dear Heart*	65	0	24	0%	0	40	0%	**0**	**64**	**0%**
Parkins, Barbara	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	14	35	40%	31	56	55%	**45**	**91**	**49%**
Priest, Pat	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	66	3	23	13%	4	42	10%	**7**	**65**	**11%**
Ross, Katharine	*Graduate, The*	67	0	16	0%	0	39	0%	**0**	**55**	**0%**
Saint, Eva Marie	*The Russians Are Coming*	66	3	20	15%	1	41	2%	**4**	**61**	**7%**
Tate, Sharon	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	3	33	9%	2	47	4%	**5**	**80**	**6%**
Taylor, Elizabeth	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	66	7	26	27%	24	56	43%	**31**	**82**	**38%**
Walley, Deborah	*Ghost in the Invisible Bikini, The*	66	2	6	33%	2	9	22%	**4**	**15**	**27%**
Welch, Raquel	*Fantastic Voyage*	66	3	11	27%	5	28	18%	**8**	**39**	**21%**
Wood, Natalie	*Great Race, The*	65	3	29	10%	10	60	17%	**39**	**89**	**44%**
Arnaz, Lucie	*Who is the Black Dahlia?*	75	0	33	0%	2	53	4%	**2**	**86**	**2%**
Black, Karen	*Airport 1975*	74	0	20	0%	0	31	0%	**0**	**51**	**0%**
Blakeley, Susan	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	2	12	17%	5	24	21%	**7**	**36**	**19%**
Buckley, Betty	*Carrie*	76	0	28	0%	0	53	0%	**0**	**81**	**0%**
Burstyn, Ellen	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	74	0	22	0%	1	41	2%	**1**	**63**	**2%**
Clark, Susan	*Night Moves*	75	1	21	5%	1	20	5%	**2**	**41**	**5%**
Clayburgh, Jill	*Silver Streak*	76	0	27	0%	0	42	0%	**0**	**69**	**0%**
Clayburgh, Jill	*Semi-Tough*	77	0	36	0%	0	35	0%	**0**	**71**	**0%**
Danner, Blythe	*Futureworld*	76	2	38	5%	2	51	4%	**4**	**89**	**4%**
Dillon, Melinda	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	77	0	4	0%	0	14	0%	**0**	**18**	**0%**
Dunaway, Fay	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	1	18	6%	6	30	20%	**7**	**48**	**15%**
Field, Sally	*Smokey and the Bandit*	77	0	17	0%	4	39	10%	**4**	**56**	**7%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Fisher, Carrie	Los Angeles, CA	1956	21	*Star Wars*	77	princess
Fisher, Carrie	Los Angeles, CA	1956	24	*Empire Strikes Back*	80	princess, leader
Fletcher, Louise	Birmingham, AL	1934	41	*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*	75	nurse in hospital mental ward
Garr, Teri	Lakewood, OH	1949	28	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	77	lower middle class suburban housewife
Garr, Teri	Lakewood, OH	1949	28	*Oh, God*	77	wife of supermarket manager
Griffith, Melanie	New York, NY	1957	18	*Night Moves*	75	wealthy runaway, age 16
Harris, Barbara	Evanston, IL	1935	42	*Freaky Friday*	77	housewife/mother of 13-year-old
Hassett, Marilyn	Los Angeles, CA	1947	29	*Two-Minute Warning*	76	elite art appreciator
Jones, Jennifer	Tulsa, OK	1919	55	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	teacher/caregiver
Loy, Myrna	Raidersburg, MT	1905	69	*Airport 1975*	74	elderly airline passenger
Mason, Marsha	St. Louis, MO	1942	35	*Goodbye Girl, The*	77	dancer & mother of young girl
Spacek, Sissy	Quitman, TX	1949	27	*Carrie*	76	shy high schooler
Streisand, Barbra	Brooklyn, NY	1942	34	*Star is Born, A*	76	rising-star singer
Norris, Chris	New York, NY	1953	21	*Airport 1975*	74	airline stewardess from Kansas
Warren, Jennifer	New York, NY	1941	34	*Night Moves*	75	smuggler
Welch, Raquel	Chicago, IL	1940	36	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	secretary, ambulance driver
Armstrong, Robert	Saginaw, MI	1890	43	*King Kong*	33	filmmaker
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	35	*Gay Divorcee, The*	34	famous dancer
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	36	*Top Hat*	35	dancer
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	37	*Swing Time*	36	poor dancer
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	38	*Shall We Dance?*	37	famous dancer from Philadelphia
Cabot, Bruce	Carlsbad, NM	1904	29	*King Kong*	33	sailor, second in command
Fairbanks, Douglas	New York, NY	1909	24	*Morning Glory*	33	screenwriter
Gable, Clark	Cadiz, OH	1901	33	*It Happened One Night*	34	journalist

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Fisher, Carrie	*Star Wars*	77	15	29	52%	23	45	51%	**38**	**74**	**51%**
Fisher, Carrie	*Empire Strikes Back*	80	0	21	0%	2	52	4%	**2**	**73**	**3%**
Fletcher, Louise	*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*	75	1	20	5%	1	51	2%	**2**	**71**	**3%**
Garr, Teri	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	77	0	14	0%	0	29	0%	**0**	**43**	**0%**
Garr, Teri	*Oh, God*	77	0	24	0%	0	26	0%	**0**	**50**	**0%**
Griffith, Melanie	*Night Moves*	75	0	15	0%	4	24	17%	**4**	**39**	**10%**
Harris, Barbara	*Freaky Friday*	77	6	28	21%	4	52	8%	**10**	**80**	**13%**
Hassett, Marilyn	*Two-Minute Warning*	76	6	17	35%	3	31	10%	**9**	**48**	**19%**
Jones, Jennifer	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	1	18	6%	0	20	0%	**1**	**38**	**3%**
Loy, Myrna	*Airport 1975*	74	1	5	20%	0	9	0%	**1**	**14**	**7%**
Mason, Marsha	*Goodbye Girl, The*	77	0	28	0%	0	36	0%	**0**	**64**	**0%**
Spacek, Sissy	*Carrie*	76	0	19	0%	0	23	0%	**0**	**42**	**0%**
Streisand, Barbra	*Star is Born, A*	76	4	37	11%	13	55	24%	**17**	**92**	**18%**
Norris, Chris	*Airport 1975*	74	0	13	0%	0	15	0%	**0**	**28**	**0%**
Warren, Jennifer	*Night Moves*	75	1	27	4%	1	54	2%	**2**	**81**	**2%**
Welch, Raquel	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	1	24	4%	0	54	0%	**1**	**78**	**1%**
Armstrong, Robert	*King Kong*	33	6	33	18%	14	53	26%	**20**	**86**	**23%**
Astaire, Fred	*Gay Divorcee, The*	34	27	30	90%	53	60	88%	**80**	**90**	**89%**
Astaire, Fred	*Top Hat*	35	27	29	93%	30	31	97%	**57**	**60**	**95%**
Astaire, Fred	*Swing Time*	36	25	29	86%	24	33	73%	**49**	**62**	**79%**
Astaire, Fred	*Shall We Dance?*	37	25	37	68%	23	48	48%	**48**	**85**	**56%**
Cabot, Bruce	*King Kong*	33	3	16	19%	9	49	18%	**12**	**65**	**18%**
Fairbanks, Douglas	*Morning Glory*	33	25	36	69%	29	44	66%	**54**	**80**	**68%**
Gable, Clark	*It Happened One Night*	34	1	18	6%	14	51	27%	**15**	**69**	**22%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Gable, Clark	Cadiz, OH	1901	35	*San Francisco*	36	bar-dance hall owner
Gable, Clark	Cadiz, OH	1901	34	*Call of the Wild, The*	35	prospector
Howard, Leslie	London, England	1893	44	*Stand-In, The*	37	intellectual banker of unclear nationality
Kibbee, Guy	El Paso, TX	1882	51	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	older lawyer
Lindon, Eric	New York, NY	1909	24	*Silver Cord, The*	33	wealthy son
March, Fredric	Racine, WI	1897	40	*Star is Born, A*	37	film star
March, Fredric	Racine, WI	1897	40	*Nothing Sacred*	37	journalist for New York City newspaper
McCrea, Joel	South Pasadena, CA	1905	28	*Silver Cord, The*	33	architect
Menjou, Adolphe	Pittsburgh, PA	1890	43	*Morning Glory*	33	film company manager
Powell, Dick	Mountain View, AR	1904	29	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	young composer secretly upper class
Powell, William	Pittsburgh, PA	1892	44	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	newspaper journalist
Tracy, Spencer	Milwaukee, WI	1900	36	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	newspaper journalist
Wayne, John	Winterset, IA	1907	26	*West of the Divide*	33	local boy
Wayne, John	Winterset, IA	1907	28	*Dawn Rider, The*	35	local boy
Wayne, John	Winterset, IA	1907	28	*Desert Trail, The*	35	cowboy
Wayne, John	Winterset, IA	1907	27	*Lucky Texan, The*	34	cowboy
William, Warren	Aitkin, MN	1895	38	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	older brother, wealthy family
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	45	*Ziegfield Follies*	44	himself: famous dancer
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	46	*Yolanda and the Thief*	45	con man
Bogart, Humphrey	New York, NY	1899	46	*To Have and Not Have*	45	expatriate with various enterprises
Bracken, Eddie	Queens, NY	1920	24	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	44	soldier from Oakland, CA
Cotten, Joseph	Petersburg, VA	1905	40	*Love Letters*	45	soldier (English?)
Cotten, Joseph	Petersburg, VA	1905	39	*I'll Be Seeing You*	44	shell-shocked soldier
Elliott, William	Pattonsburg, MO	1903	43	*Plainsman and the Lady, The*	46	business enterpreneur, saloon owner

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Gable, Clark	*San Francisco*	36	7	20	35%	8	40	20%	**15**	**60**	**25%**
Gable, Clark	*Call of the Wild, The*	35	6	19	32%	3	42	7%	**9**	**61**	**15%**
Howard, Leslie	*Stand-In, The*	37	22	22	100%	39	39	100%	**61**	**61**	**100%**
Kibbee, Guy	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	4	32	13%	5	29	17%	**9**	**61**	**15%**
Lindon, Eric	*Silver Cord, The*	33	13	14	93%	47	47	100%	**60**	**61**	**98%**
March, Fredric	*Star is Born, A*	37	19	30	63%	22	33	67%	**41**	**63**	**65%**
March, Fredric	*Nothing Sacred*	37	14	23	61%	21	37	57%	**35**	**60**	**58%**
McCrea, Joel	*Silver Cord, The*	33	8	21	38%	16	39	41%	**24**	**60**	**40%**
Menjou, Adolphe	*Morning Glory*	33	36	39	92%	39	54	72%	**75**	**93**	**81%**
Powell, Dick	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	3	36	8%	3	24	13%	**6**	**60**	**10%**
Powell, William	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	13	22	59%	28	38	74%	**41**	**60**	**68%**
Tracy, Spencer	*Libeled Lady, The*	36	6	24	25%	3	36	8%	**9**	**60**	**15%**
Wayne, John	*West of the Divide*	33	0	16	0%	0	44	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Wayne, John	*Dawn Rider, The*	35	1	19	5%	6	42	14%	**7**	**61**	**11%**
Wayne, John	*Desert Trail, The*	35	0	24	0%	3	36	8%	**3**	**60**	**5%**
Wayne, John	*Lucky Texan, The*	34	0	25	0%	0	35	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
William, Warren	*Golddiggers of 1933*	33	29	31	94%	26	29	90%	**55**	**60**	**92%**
Astaire, Fred	*Ziegfield Follies*	44	3	8	38%	4	9	44%	**7**	**17**	**41%**
Astaire, Fred	*Yolanda and the Thief*	45	12	32	38%	22	60	37%	**34**	**92**	**37%**
Bogart, Humphrey	*To Have and Not Have*	45	31	35	89%	37	45	82%	**68**	**80**	**85%**
Bracken, Eddie	*Hail the Conquering Hero*	44	34	40	85%	22	22	100%	**56**	**62**	**90%**
Cotten, Joseph	*Love Letters*	45	12	27	44%	17	34	50%	**29**	**61**	**48%**
Cotten, Joseph	*I'll Be Seeing You*	44	15	25	60%	16	36	44%	**31**	**61**	**51%**
Elliott, William	*Plainsman and the Lady, The*	46	0	27	0%	0	34	0%	**0**	**61**	**0%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Ford, Glenn	Quebec, Canada	1916	30	*Gilda*	46	good guy manager of casino
Garfield, John	New York, NY	1913	33	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	46	drifter
Grant, Cary	Bristol, England	1904	43	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	47	artist (painter) - nationality unclear
Grant, Cary	Bristol, England	1904	43	*Bishop's Wife, The*	47	angel
Kaye, Danny	Brooklyn, NY	1913	32	*Wonder Man*	45	studious researcher
Kelly, Gene	Pittsburgh, PA	1912	32	*Cover Girl*	44	dance hall owner, dancer
MacMurray, Fred	Kankakee, IL	1908	36	*Double Indemnity*	44	insurance agent
Milland, Ray	Neat, Wales	1907	38	*Lost Weekend, The*	45	alcoholic writer in New York
Peck, Gregory	La Jolla, CA	1916	31	*Gentleman's Agreement*	47	journalist for magazine
Rogers, Roy	Cincinnati, OH	1911	36	*Bells of San Angelo, The*	47	border patrol cowboy
Ryan, Edward	unknown			*Fighting Sullivans, The*	44	local boy
Stewart, James	Indiana, PA	1908	38	*It's a Wonderful Life*	46	local boy; runs savings & loan
Wayne, John	Winterset, IA	1907	38	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	45	Montana cowboy
Wayne, John	Winterset, IA	1907	40	*Angel and the Bad Man*	47	cowboy
Wilde, Cornel	New York, NY	1915	30	*Leave Her to Heaven*	44	writer
Young, Robert	Chicago, IL	1907	38	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	45	army lieutenant
Young, Robert	Chicago, IL	1907	38	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	45	injured soldier
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	57	*Funny Face*	56	fashion magazine photographer
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	58	*Silk Stockings*	57	Hollywood producer
Chandler, Jeff	Brooklyn, NY	1918	37	*Foxfire*	55	AZ mining engineer, son of prof & indian princess
Curtis, Tony	Bronx, NY	1925	29	*Johnny Dark*	54	auto engineer & designer
Denning, Richard	Poughkeepsie, NY	1914	43	*Black Scorpion, The*	57	geology professor
Derek, John	Hollywood, CA	1926	28	*Outcast, The*	54	son of deceased town leader/rancher
Douglas, Kirk	Amsterdam, NY	1916	40	*Top Secret Affair*	56	general, military diplomat

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Ford, Glenn	*Gilda*	46	7	25	28%	11	39	28%	**18**	**64**	**28%**
Garfield, John	*Postman Always Rings Twice, The*	46	16	21	76%	36	39	92%	**52**	**60**	**87%**
Grant, Cary	*Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer, The*	47	25	32	78%	20	28	71%	**45**	**60**	**75%**
Grant, Cary	*Bishop's Wife, The*	47	27	28	96%	26	33	79%	**53**	**61**	**87%**
Kaye, Danny	*Wonder Man*	45	16	31	52%	17	29	59%	**33**	**60**	**55%**
Kelly, Gene	*Cover Girl*	44	3	22	14%	28	41	68%	**31**	**63**	**49%**
MacMurray, Fred	*Double Indemnity*	44	11	25	44%	10	42	24%	**21**	**67**	**31%**
Milland, Ray	*Lost Weekend, The*	45	29	30	97%	26	30	87%	**55**	**60**	**92%**
Peck, Gregory	*Gentleman's Agreement*	47	16	25	64%	23	41	56%	**39**	**66**	**59%**
Rogers, Roy	*Bells of San Angelo, The*	47	3	26	12%	2	34	6%	**5**	**60**	**8%**
Ryan, Edward	*Fighting Sullivans, The*	44	15	20	75%	27	42	64%	**42**	**62**	**68%**
Stewart, Jimmy	*It's a Wonderful Life*	46	0	18	0%	1	43	2%	**1**	**61**	**2%**
Wayne, John	*Flame of the Barbary Coast*	45	2	31	6%	2	29	7%	**4**	**60**	**7%**
Wayne, John	*Angel and the Bad Man*	47	0	32	0%	0	29	0%	**0**	**61**	**0%**
Wilde, Cornel	*Leave Her to Heaven*	44	9	20	45%	16	43	37%	**25**	**63**	**40%**
Young, Robert	*Those Endearing Young Charms*	45	3	30	10%	3	31	10%	**6**	**61**	**10%**
Young, Robert	*Enchanted Cottage, The*	45	5	30	17%	4	30	13%	**9**	**60**	**15%**
Astaire, Fred	*Funny Face*	56	18	42	43%	23	48	48%	**41**	**90**	**46%**
Astaire, Fred	*Silk Stockings*	57	26	50	52%	21	40	53%	**47**	**90**	**52%**
Chandler, Jeff	*Foxfire*	55	1	21	5%	9	39	23%	**10**	**60**	**17%**
Curtis, Tony	*Johnny Dark*	54	16	22	73%	24	38	63%	**40**	**60**	**67%**
Denning, Richard	*Black Scorpion, The*	57	1	18	6%	1	43	2%	**2**	**61**	**3%**
Derek, John	*Outcast, The*	54	1	33	3%	1	29	3%	**2**	**62**	**3%**
Douglas, Kirk	*Top Secret Affair*	56	7	29	24%	6	32	19%	**13**	**61**	**21%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Gable, Clark	Cadiz, OH	1901	54	*Soldier of Fortune*	55	good-guy wealthy smuggler in Hong Kong
Grant, Cary	Bristol, England	1904	51	*To Catch a Thief*	54	reformed jewel thief
Hayden, Sterling	Montclair, NJ	1916	38	*Naked Alibi*	54	police detective
Heston, Charlton	Evanston, IL	1923	32	*Lucy Gallant*	55	rancher who finds oil
Hopper, Bill	CA from age 1	1915	41	*Bad Seed, The*	56	colonel with administrative job
Marlowe, Hugh	Philadelphia, PA	1911	45	*World Without End*	56	20th century space rocket commander
Martin, Dean	Steubenville, OH	1917	37	*Living It Up*	54	country doctor in New Mexico
Mitchum, Robert	Bridgeport, CT	1917	37	*River of No Return*	54	farmer, frontiersman
Nader, George	Pasadena, CA	1921	35	*Congo Crossing*	56	surveyer
Payne, John	Roanoke, VA	1912	43	*Santa Fe Passage*	54	cowboy scout
Peck, Gregory	La Jolla, CA	1916	40	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	56	white-collar worker
Reason, Rex	Berlin, Germany	1928	27	*This Island Earth*	55	scientist
Sinatra, Frank	Hoboken, NJ	1915	39	*Young at Heart*	54	hard-luck case poor musician
Stewart, James	Indiana, PA	1908	46	*Rear Window*	54	New York magazine photographer
Webb, Clifton	Indianapolis, IN	1891	63	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	54	well-known American writer in Rome, older
Young, Gig	St. Cloud, MN	1913	41	*Young at Heart*	54	successful composer
Boyd, Stephen	Belfast, Northern Ir.	1928	38	*Fantastic Voyage*	66	American communications expert
Burke, Paul	New Orleans, LA	1926	41	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	nephew of boss; arts agent; had English mother
Cord, Alex	New York, NY	1933	33	*Stagecoach*	66	crack shot cowboy in Old West
Curtis, Tony	Bronx, NY	1925	40	*Great Race, The*	65	car racer at turn of century
Ford, Glenn	Quebec, Canada (Calif)	1916	49	*Dear Heart*	65	greeting card salesman
Franciosa, Tony	New York, NY	1928	38	*Swinger, The*	66	photographer for magazine
Hoffman, Dustin	Los Angeles, CA	1937	30	*Graduate, The*	67	21-year-old from well-off family
Hudson, Rock	Winnetka, IL	1925	39	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	white collar worker in suburbia

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Gable, Clark	*Soldier of Fortune*	55	3	23	13%	6	40	15%	**9**	**63**	**14%**
Grant, Cary	*To Catch a Thief*	54	23	26	88%	29	33	88%	**52**	**59**	**88%**
Hayden, Sterling	*Naked Alibi*	54	0	25	0%	4	35	11%	**4**	**60**	**7%**
Heston, Charlton	*Lucy Gallant*	55	2	21	10%	4	39	10%	**6**	**60**	**10%**
Hopper, Bill	*Bad Seed, The*	56	1	24	4%	0	22	0%	**1**	**46**	**2%**
Marlowe, Hugh	*World Without End*	56	0	11	0%	1	32	3%	**1**	**43**	**2%**
Martin, Dean	*Living It Up*	54	1	26	4%	6	37	16%	**7**	**63**	**11%**
Mitchum, Robert	*River of No Return*	54	8	18	44%	20	42	48%	**28**	**60**	**47%**
Nader, George	*Congo Crossing*	56	0	30	0%	0	30	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Payne, John	*Santa Fe Passage*	54	5	23	22%	11	39	28%	**16**	**62**	**26%**
Peck, Gregory	*Man in the Gray Flannel Suit, The*	56	8	26	31%	7	34	21%	**15**	**60**	**25%**
Reason, Rex	*This Island Earth*	55	6	31	19%	4	29	14%	**10**	**60**	**17%**
Sinatra, Frank	*Young at Heart*	54	18	23	78%	22	37	59%	**40**	**60**	**67%**
Stewart, James	*Rear Window*	54	0	33	0%	2	27	7%	**2**	**60**	**3%**
Webb, Clifton	*Three Coins in the Fountain*	54	19	26	73%	27	34	79%	**46**	**60**	**77%**
Young, Gig	*Young at Heart*	54	3	30	10%	2	30	7%	**5**	**60**	**8%**
Boyd, Stephen	*Fantastic Voyage*	66	4	25	16%	15	44	34%	**19**	**69**	**28%**
Burke, Paul	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	12	22	55%	21	30	70%	**33**	**52**	**63%**
Cord, Alex	*Stagecoach*	66	5	29	17%	13	30	43%	**18**	**59**	**31%**
Curtis, Tony	*Great Race, The*	65	14	23	61%	31	44	70%	**45**	**67**	**67%**
Ford, Glenn	*Dear Heart*	65	1	22	5%	1	40	3%	**2**	**62**	**3%**
Franciosa, Tony	*Swinger, The*	66							**140**	**242**	**58%**
Hoffman, Dustin	*Graduate, The*	67	0	28	0%	0	32	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Hudson, Rock	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	0	38	0%	0	22	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Kirk, Tommy	Louisville, KY	1941	24	*Monkey's Uncle, The*	65	whiz kid college student
Kirk, Tommy	Louisville, KY	1941	25	*Ghost in the Invisible Bikini, The*	66	son of carnival operator; will inherit
Martin, Dean	Steubenville, OH	1917	49	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	famous Las Vegas singer & recording star
McQueen, Steve	Slater, MO	1930	36	*Sand Pebbles, The*	66	sailor in US Navy in 1920's China
Milner, Martin	Detroit, MI	1927	40	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	writer & publicist
Osmond, Cliff	unknown			*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	amateur musician, gas station worker, comic sidekick
Peppard, George	Detroit, MI	1928	37	*Third Day, The*	65	husband of rich boss' daughter
Poitier, Sydney	Miami, FL	1924	41	*Patch of Blue, A*	65	white-collar worker in South
Poitier, Sydney	Miami, FL	1924	43	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	renowned medical doctor
Presley, Elvis	Tupelo, MS	1935	30	*Tickle Me*	65	rodeo rider
Presley, Elvis	Tupelo, MS	1935	32	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	66	Navy diver
Randall, Tony	Tulsa, OK	1920	44	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	lawyer
Reiner, Carl	Bronx, NY	1922	44	*The Russians Are Coming*	66	musical comedy writer
Robards, Jason	Chicago, IL	1922	43	*Thousand Clowns, A*	65	comedy actor
Robards, Jason	Chicago, IL	1922	44	*Any Wednesday*	66	wealthy businessman
Robertson, Cliff	La Jolla, CA	1925	39	*Best Man, The*	64	US Senator running for president
Scotti, Tony	Newark, NJ	1939	28	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	singer & actor
Segal, George	New York, NY	1934	32	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	66	biology professor, age 28
Tracy, Spencer	Milwaukee, WI	1900	67	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	San Francisco newspaper owner
Walker, Clint	Hartford, IL	1927	37	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	oil-rich Southwesterner
Walston, Ray	New Orleans, LA	1918	46	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	music teacher/church organist in small NV town
Astaire, Fred	Omaha, NE	1899	75	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	elderly con man
Burns, George	New York, NY	1896	81	*Oh, God*	77	God (comic character)
Chamberlain, Richard	Beverly Hills, CA	1935	39	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	playboy married to boss' daughter

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued) **(r) variable:**

subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Kirk, Tommy	*Monkey's Uncle, The*	65	0	23	0%	0	40	0%	**0**	**63**	**0%**
Kirk, Tommy	*Ghost in the Invisible Bikini, The*	66	1	28	4%	6	34	18%	**7**	**62**	**11%**
Martin, Dean	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	1	31	3%	7	52	13%	**8**	**83**	**10%**
McQueen, Steve	*Sand Pebbles, The*	66	2	22	9%	4	41	10%	**6**	**63**	**10%**
Milner, Martin	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	1	17	6%	10	24	42%	**11**	**41**	**27%**
Osmond, Cliff	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	23	29	79%	19	21	90%	**42**	**50**	**84%**
Peppard, George	*Third Day, The*	65	3	24	13%	2	37	5%	**5**	**61**	**8%**
Poitier, Sydney	*Patch of Blue, A*	65	6	16	38%	32	39	82%	**38**	**55**	**69%**
Poitier, Sydney	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	16	34	47%	65	96	68%	**81**	**130**	**62%**
Presley, Elvis	*Tickle Me*	65	4	28	14%	7	32	22%	**11**	**60**	**18%**
Presley, Elvis	*Easy Come, Easy Go*	66	6	29	21%	11	33	33%	**17**	**62**	**27%**
Randall, Tony	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	0	36	0%	0	26	0%	**0**	**62**	**0%**
Reiner, Carl	*The Russians Are Coming*	66	20	47	43%	41	105	39%	**61**	**152**	**40%**
Robards, Jason	*Thousand Clowns, A*	65	1	25	4%	0	37	0%	**1**	**62**	**2%**
Robards, Jason	*Any Wednesday*	66	0	25	0%	0	37	0%	**0**	**62**	**0%**
Robertson, Cliff	*Best Man, The*	64	0	29	0%	0	36	0%	**0**	**65**	**0%**
Scotti, Tony	*Valley of the Dolls*	67	1	8	13%	5	15	33%	**6**	**23**	**26%**
Segal, George	*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*	66	12	26	46%	23	34	68%	**35**	**60**	**58%**
Tracy, Spencer	*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*	67	4	28	14%	9	42	21%	**13**	**70**	**19%**
Walker, Clint	*Send Me No Flowers*	64	2	18	11%	3	14	21%	**5**	**32**	**16%**
Walston, Ray	*Kiss Me, Stupid*	64	13	50	26%	31	75	41%	**44**	**125**	**35%**
Astaire, Fred	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	6	17	35%	6	26	23%	**12**	**43**	**28%**
Burns, George	*Oh, God*	77	15	22	68%	35	38	92%	**50**	**60**	**83%**
Chamberlain, Richard	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	6	24	25%	5	27	19%	**11**	**51**	**22%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø

4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø

7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

subject	*birthplace*	*year*	*age*	*film*	*date*	*role status*
Cosby, Bill	Philadelphia, PA	1937	39	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	ambulance driver
Denver, John	Roswell, NM	1943	34	*Oh, God*	77	supermarket manager
Dreyfuss, Richard	Brooklyn, NY	1947	30	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	77	electric lineman
Dreyfuss, Richard	Brooklyn, NY	1947	30	*Goodbye Girl, The*	77	actor from Chicago
Fonda, Peter	New York, NY (Nebr.)	1939	37	*Futureworld*	76	journalist
Ford, Harrison	Chicago, IL	1942	35	*Star Wars*	77	smuggler, pilot
Garfield, Allen	Newark, NJ	1939	37	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	boss of ambulance company
Hackman, Gene	San Bernadino, CA	1931	44	*Night Moves*	75	detective
Hagman, Larry	Fort Worth, TX	1931	45	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	ambulance driver
Hamill, Mark	Oakland, CA	1951	26	*Star Wars*	77	farm boy, pilot
Hamill, Mark	Oakland, CA	1951	29	*The Empire Strikes Back*	80	pilot, fighter
Heston, Charlton	Evanston, IL	1923	51	*Airport 1975*	74	pilot
Holden, William	O'Fallon, IL	1918	56	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	boss/builder of skyscraper
Katt, William	Los Angeles, CA	1950	26	*Carrie*	76	high school boy
Keitel, Harvey	Brooklyn, NY	1941	33	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	74	Southern two-timer
Keitel, Harvey	Brooklyn, NY	1941	35	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	police officer/ambulance driver
Kristofferson, Kris	Brownsville, TX	1936	38	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	74	modern cowboy in West
Kristofferson, Kris	Brownsville, TX	1936	40	*Star is Born, A*	76	fading singing star
Kristofferson, Kris	Brownsville, TX	1936	41	*Semi-Tough*	77	professional football player
McQueen, Steve	Slater, MO	1930	44	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	fire chief
Newman, Paul	Cleveland, OH	1925	49	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	architect
Nicholson, Jack	Neptune, NJ	1937	38	*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*	75	rebellious free spirit in prison
Reynolds, Burt	Waycross, GA	1936	41	*Semi-Tough*	77	professional football player
Reynolds, Burt	Waycross, GA	1936	41	*Smokey and the Bandit*	77	trucker, smuggler
Wilder, Gene	Milwaukee, WI	1935	41	*Silver Streak*	76	shy publisher from Los Angeles

Table A-14. Complete Data: All Subjects (continued)

			(r) variable:								
subject	*film*	*date*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Cosby, Bill	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	5	27	19%	2	39	5%	**7**	**66**	**11%**
Denver, John	*Oh, God*	77	0	31	0%	0	29	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Dreyfuss, Richard	*Close Encounters of the Third Kind*	77	3	32	9%	9	62	15%	**12**	**94**	**13%**
Dreyfuss, Richard	*Goodbye Girl, The*	77							**29**	**160**	**18%**
Fonda, Peter	*Futureworld*	76	0	19	0%	0	41	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Ford, Harrison	*Star Wars*	77	0	30	0%	0	32	0%	**0**	**62**	**0%**
Garfield, Allen	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	20	39	51%	33	41	80%	**53**	**80**	**66%**
Hackman, Gene	*Night Moves*	75	0	18	0%	0	42	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Hagman, Larry	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	1	23	4%	3	37	8%	**4**	**60**	**7%**
Hamill, Mark	*Star Wars*	77	0	18	0%	0	42	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Hamill, Mark	*The Empire Strikes Back*	80	0	11	0%	0	47	0%	**0**	**58**	**0%**
Heston, Charlton	*Airport 1975*	74	0	32	0%	0	29	0%	**0**	**61**	**0%**
Holden, William	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	0	26	0%	0	34	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Katt, William	*Carrie*	76	0	7	0%	0	24	0%	**0**	**31**	**0%**
Keitel, Harvey	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	74	1	7	14%	2	15	13%	**3**	**22**	**14%**
Keitel, Harvey	*Mother, Jugs and Speed*	76	16	35	46%	15	34	44%	**31**	**69**	**45%**
Kristofferson, Kris	*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*	74	1	25	4%	3	35	9%	**4**	**60**	**7%**
Kristofferson, Kris	*Star is Born, A*	76	0	23	0%	1	47	2%	**1**	**70**	**1%**
Kristofferson, Kris	*Semi-Tough*	77	0	30	0%	1	31	3%	**1**	**61**	**2%**
McQueen, Steve	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	0	26	0%	0	34	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Newman, Paul	*Towering Inferno, The*	74	0	20	0%	1	40	3%	**1**	**60**	**2%**
Nicholson, Jack	*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*	75	0	16	0%	0	44	0%	**0**	**60**	**0%**
Reynolds, Burt	*Semi-Tough*	77	1	21	5%	5	39	13%	**6**	**60**	**10%**
Reynolds, Burt	*Smokey and the Bandit*	77							**10**	**120**	**8%**
Wilder, Gene	*Silver Streak*	76	0	33	0%	3	38	8%	**3**	**71**	**4%**

1=tokens of preconsonantal (r) = ø; 2=total tokens of preconsonantal (r); 3=percentage of occurrence of preconsonantal (r)=ø
4=tokens of word-final (r) = ø; 5=total tokens of word-final (r); 6=percentage of occurrence of word-final (r)=ø
7=tokens of all syllable coda (r) = ø; 8=total tokens of syllable coda (r); 9=percentage of occurrence of syllable coda (r)=ø

Table A-15. Statistical Tests

A. Two Sample T-Test and Confidence Interval performed on data presented in Tables A-1 and A-2

Decade 3 female vs. male

	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female3	28	67.70	24.10	4.60
male3	24	43.70	33.90	6.90

95% CI for mu female3 - mu male3: (7.3, 40.8)
T-Test mu female3 = mu male3 (vs. not =) : T=2.90, P=0.0061 DF=40

Decade 4 female vs. male

	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female4	27	44.10	27.50	5.30
male4	21	38.60	29.00	6.30

95% CI for mu female4 - mu male4: (-11.2, 22.2)
T-Test mu female4 = mu male4 (vs. not =) : T=0.66, P=0.51 DF=41

Decade 5 female vs. male

	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female5	24	48.00	26.50	5.40
male5	22	23.90	24.20	5.20

95% CI for mu female5 - mu male5: (9.1, 39.2)
T-Test mu female5 = mu male5 (vs. not =) : T=3.24, P=0.0023 DF=43

Decade 6 female vs. male

	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female6	29	20.70	20.70	3.80
male6	29	22.80	23.90	4.40

95% CI for mu female6 - mu male6: (-13.8, 9.7)
T-Test mu female6 = mu male6 (vs. not =) : T=-0.35, P=0.73 DF=54

Decade 7 female vs. male

	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female7	25	4.92	6.63	1.30
male7	27	8.60	15.10	2.90

95% CI for mu female7 - mu male7: (-10.2, 2.8)
T-Test mu female7 = mu male7 (vs. not =) : T=-1.16, P=0.25 DF=36

Table A-15. Statistical Tests (continued)

B. One-way analysis of variation (ANOVA) performed on data presented in Tables A-1 and A-2

Analysis of Variance: male subjects in decades 3-7

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Factor	4	19336	4834	7.35	0.000
Error	118	77638	658		
Total	112	96974			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
male3	24	43.67	33.95
male4	21	38.62	29.02
male5	22	23.86	24.19
male6	29	22.76	23.93
male7	27	8.63	15.14

Pooled StDev = 25.65

Analysis of Variance: female subjects in decades 3-7

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Factor	4	64102	16026	31.75	0
Error	128	64605	505		
Total	132	128707			

Level	N	Mean	StDev
female3	28	67.71	24.12
female4	27	44.11	27.54
female5	24	48.04	26.47
female6	29	20.72	20.69
female7	25	4.92	6.63

Pooled StDev = 22.47

Table A-15. Statistical Tests (continued)

C. Paired T-Test and Confidence Interval performed on data presented in Table A-7

Decade 3	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female3	22	71.68	24.99	5.33
male3	22	40.32	32.86	7.00
difference	22	31.36	38.57	8.22

95% CI for mean difference: (14.26, 48.47)
T-Test of mean difference = 0 (vs not = 0) : T-Value=3.81 P-Value=0.001

Decade 4	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female4	23	43.83	28.69	5.98
male4	23	40.57	28.51	5.95
difference	23	3.26	35.82	7.47

95% CI for mean difference: (-12.23, 18.75)
T-Test of mean difference = 0 (vs not = 0) : T-Value=0.44 P-Value=0.667

Decade 5	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female5	21	43.71	25.89	5.65
male5	21	50.48	23.67	5.17
difference	21	23.24	32.50	7.09

95% CI for mean difference: (8.45, 38.03)
T-Test of mean difference = 0 (vs not = 0) : T-Value=3.28 P-Value=0.004

Decade 6	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female6	29	21.62	24.56	4.56
male6	29	23.45	23.71	4.40
difference	29	-1.83	30.36	5.64

95% CI for mean difference: (-13.37, 9.72)
T-Test of mean difference = 0 (vs not = 0) : T-Value=-0.32 P-Value=0.748

Decade 7	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean
female7	27	4.30	6.22	1.20
male7	27	10.04	15.44	2.97
difference	27	-5.74	17.51	3.37

95% CI for mean difference: (-12.67, 1.19)
T-Test of mean difference = 0 (vs not = 0) : T-Value=-1.70 P-Value=0.100

APPENDIX III

FILMS STUDIED
(Listed by title, date, distributor, female subjects, and male subjects)

Airport 1975. 1974. Universal. Karen Black, Myrna Loy, and Charlton Heston.

Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore. 1974. Warner. Ellen Burstyn, Harvey Keitel, and Kris Kristofferson.

Angel and the Bad Man. 1947. Republic. Gail Russell and John Wayne.

Any Wednesday. 1966. Warner. Jane Fonda and Jason Robards.

The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer. 1947. RKO. Myrna Loy, Shirley Temple, and Cary Grant.

The Bad Seed. 1956. Warner. Nancy Kelly and Bill Hopper.

The Bells of San Angelo. 1947. MCA/Republic. Dale Evans and Roy Rogers.

The Best Man. 1964. UA. Edie Adams and Cliff Robertson.

The Bishop's Wife. 1947. Samuel Goldwyn. Loretta Young and Cary Grant.

The Black Scorpion. 1957. Warner. Mara Corday and Richard Denning.

Call of the Wild. 1935. Twentieth Century. Loretta Young and Clark Gable.

Carrie. 1976. Paramount. Sissy Spacek, Betty Buckley, and William Katt.

Close Encounters of the Third Kind. 1977. Columbia/EMI. Melinda Dillon, Teri Garr, and Richard Dreyfuss.

Congo Crossing. 1956. U-I. Virginia Mayo and George Nader.

Cover Girl. 1944. Columbia. Rita Hayworth and Gene Kelly.

The Dawn Rider. 1935. Lone Star. Marion Burns and John Wayne.

Dear Heart. 1965. Warner. Angela Lansbury, Patricia Barry, Geraldine Page, and Glenn Ford.

The Desert Trail. 1935. Lone Star. Mary Kornman and John Wayne.

Double Indemnity. 1944. Paramount. Barbara Stanwyck and Fred MacMurray.

Easy Come, Easy Go. 1966. Paramount. Dodie Marshall, Pat Priest, and Elvis Presley.

The Empire Strikes Back. 1980. TCF/Lucasfilm. Carrie Fisher and Mark Hamill.

The Enchanted Cottage. 1945. RKO. Dorothy McGuire and Robert Young.

Fantastic Voyage. 1966. TCF. Raquel Welch and Stephen Boyd.

The Fighting Sullivans. 1944. TCF. Anne Baxter, Trudy Marshall, and Edward Ryan.

Flame of the Barbary Coast. 1945. Republic. Ann Dvorak and John Wayne.

Foxfire. 1955. U-I. Jane Russell and Jeff Chandler.

Freaky Friday. 1977. Walt Disney. Barbara Harris.

Funny Face. 1956. Paramount. Audrey Hepburn and Fred Astaire.

Futureworld. 1976. AIP. Blythe Danner and Peter Fonda.

The Gay Divorcée. 1934. RKO. Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire.

Gentleman's Agreement. 1947. TCF. Dorothy McGuire and Gregory Peck.

The Ghost in the Invisible Bikini. 1966. American International. Deborah Walley and Tommy Kirk.

Gilda. 1946. Columbia. Rita Hayworth and Glenn Ford.

Golddiggers of 1933. 1933. Warner. Joan Blondell, Ruby Keelor, Aline MacMahon, Ginger Rogers, Warren William, Dick Powell, and Guy Kibbee.

The Goodbye Girl. 1977. Warner. Marsha Mason and Richard Dreyfuss.

The Graduate. 1967. UA/Embassy. Anne Bancroft, Katharine Ross, Dustin Hoffman.

The Great Race. 1965. Warner. Natalie Wood and Tony Curtis.

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. 1967. Columbia. Katharine Hepburn, Katharine Houghton, Sydney Poitier, and Spencer Tracy.

Hail the Conquering Hero. 1944. Paramount. Ella Raines and Eddie Bracken.

I'll Be Seeing You. 1944. David O. Selznick. Ginger Rogers and Joseph Cotten.

It Happened One Night. 1934. Columbia. Claudette Colbert and Clark Gable.

It's a Wonderful Life. 1946. RKO. Donna Reed and James Stewart.

Johnny Dark. 1954. U-I. Piper Laurie and Tony Curtis.

King Kong. 1933. RKO. Fay Wray, Robert Armstrong, and Bruce Cabot.

Kiss Me, Stupid. 1964. UA. Felicia Farr, Dean Martin, Cliff Osmond, and Ray Walston.

Leave Her to Heaven. 1944. TCF. Jeanne Crain, Gene Tierney, and Cornel Wilde.

The Libeled Lady. 1936. MGM. Jean Harlow, Myrna Loy, William Powell, and Spencer Tracy.

Living it Up. 1954. Paramount. Janet Leigh and Dean Martin.

The Lost Weekend. 1945. Paramount. Jane Wyman and Ray Milland.

Love Letters. 1945. Paramount. Jennifer Jones and Joseph Cotten.

The Lucky Texan. 1934. Lone Star. Barbara Sheldon and John Wayne.

Lucy Gallant. 1955. Paramount. Jane Wyman and Charlton Heston.

The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit. 1956. TCF. Jennifer Jones and Gregory Peck.

The Monkey's Uncle. 1965. Walt Disney. Annette Funicello and Tommy Kirk.

Morning Glory. 1933. RKO. Katharine Hepburn, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and Adolphe Menjou.

Mother, Jugs and Speed. 1976. TCF. Raquel Welch, Bill Cosby, Allen Garfield, Larry Hagman, and Harvey Keitel.

Naked Alibi. 1954. U-I. Gloria Grahame and Sterling Hayden.

Night Moves. 1975. Warner. Susan Clark, Melanie Griffith, Jennifer Warren, and Gene Hackman.

Nothing Sacred. 1937. David O. Selznick. Carole Lombard and Fredric March.

Oh, God. 1977. Warner. Teri Garr, George Burns, and John Denver.

One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest. 1975. UA/Fantasy Films. Louise Fletcher and Jack Nicholson.

The Outcast. 1954. Republic. Joan Evans, Catherine McLeod, and John Derek.

A Patch of Blue. 1965. MGM. Elizabeth Hartman and Sydney Poitier.

The Plainsman and the Lady. 1946. Republic. Gail Patrick and William Elliott.

The Postman Always Rings Twice. 1946. MGM. Lana Turner and John Garfield.

Rain. 1932. UA. Joan Crawford.

Rear Window. 1954. Alfred Hitchcock. Grace Kelly and James Stewart.

River of No Return. 1954. TCF. Marilyn Monroe and Robert Mitchum.

The Russians Are Coming, the Russians Are Coming! 1966. UA/Mirisch. Andrea Dromm, Eva Marie Saint, and Carl Reiner.

San Francisco. 1936. MGM. Jeanette MacDonald and Clark Gable.

The Sand Pebbles. 1966. TCF. Candice Bergen and Steve McQueen.

Santa Fe Passage. 1954. Republic. Faith Domergue and John Payne.

Semi-Tough. 1977. UA. Jill Clayburgh, Kris Kristofferson, and Burt Reynolds.

Send Me No Flowers. 1964. U-I. Doris Day, Rock Hudson, Tony Randall, and Clint Walker.

Shall We Dance? 1937. RKO. Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire.

Silk Stockings. 1957. MGM. Fred Astaire.

The Silver Cord. 1933. RKO. Frances Dee, Irene Dunn, Eric Lindon, and Joel McCrea.

Silver Streak. 1976. TCF. Jill Clayburgh and Gene Wilder.

Smokey and the Bandit. 1977. Universal. Sally Field and Burt Reynolds.

Soldier of Fortune. 1955. TCF. Susan Hayward and Clark Gable.

Stagecoach. 1966. TCF. Ann-Margret and Alex Cord.

The Stand-In. 1937. Walter Wanger. Joan Blondell, Marla Shelton, and Leslie Howard.

A Star is Born. 1937. David O. Selznick. Janet Gaynor and Fredric March.

A Star is Born. 1954. Warner. Judy Garland.

A Star is Born. 1976. Warner/Barwood/First Artists. Barbra Streisand and Kris Kristofferson.

Star Wars. 1977. TCF/Lucasfilm. Carrie Fisher, Harrison Ford, and Mark Hamill.

Swing Time. 1936. RKO. Betty Furness, Ginger Rogers, and Fred Astaire.

The Swinger. 1966. Paramount. Ann-Margret and Tony Franciosa.

The Third Day. 1965. Warner. Elizabeth Ashley and George Peppard.

This Island Earth. 1955. U-I. Faith Domergue and Rex Reason.

Those Endearing Young Charms. 1945. RKO. Laraine Day and Robert Young.

A Thousand Clowns. 1965. UA. Barbara Harris and Jason Robards.

Three Coins in the Fountain. 1954. TCM. Dorothy McGuire, Maggie McNamara, Jean Peters, and Clifton Webb.

Tickle Me. 1965. AA. Jocelyn Lane and Elvis Presley.

To Catch a Thief. 1954. Paramount. Grace Kelly and Cary Grant.

To Have and Have Not. 1945. Warner. Lauren Bacall and Humphrey Bogart.

Top Hat. 1935. RKO. Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire.

Top Secret Affair. 1956. Warner. Susan Hayward and Kirk Douglas.

The Towering Inferno. 1974. TCF/Warner. Susan Blakeley, Fay Dunaway, Jennifer Jones, Fred Astaire, Richard Chamberlain, Steve McQueen, and Paul Newman.

Two Minute Warning. 1976. Universal. Marilyn Hassett.

Valley of the Dolls. 1967. TCF. Patty Duke, Susan Hayward, Barbara Parkins, Sharon Tate, Paul Burke, Martin Milner, and Tony Scotti.

West of the Divide. 1933. Lone Star. Virginia F. Brown and John Wayne.

Who is the Black Dahlia? 1975. Warner. Lucie Arnaz.

Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? 1966. Warner. Sandy Dennis, Elizabeth Taylor, and George Segal.

Wonder Man. 1945. Samuel Goldwyn. Virginia Mayo, Vera-Ellen Rohe, and Danny Kaye.

World Without End. 1956. AA. Nancy Gates and Hugh Marlowe.

Yolanda and the Thief. 1945. MGM. Lucille Bremer and Fred Astaire.

Young at Heart. 1954. Warner. Doris Day, Frank Sinatra, and Gig Young.

Ziegfield Follies. 1944. MGM. Fred Astaire.

REFERENCES

Allen, Harold B., and Michael D. Linn, eds. 1986. *Dialect and Language Variation.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Astaire, Fred. 1959. *Steps in Time.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

Bähr, Dieter. 1974. *Standard English und seine geographischen Varianten.* Munich: Wilhelm Fink.

Barber, Charles. 1976. *Early Modern English.* London: André Deutsch.

Bell, Allan. 1991. *The Language of News Media.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Berry, Cicely. 1973. *Voice and the Actor.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.

Brown, Gene. 1995. *Movie Time: A Chronology of Hollywood and the Movie Industry from Its Beginnings to the Present.* New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.

Brown, Roger, and Albert Gilman. 1960. "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity." In *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, 253-276. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Bouchard-Ryan, Ellen, and Howard Giles, eds. 1982. *Attitudes towards Language Variation.* London: Edward Arnold.

Carver, Craig M. 1989. *American Regional Dialects: A Word Geography.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Coupland, Nikolas. 1984. "Accommodation at Work." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, vol. 46, 49-70.

Croce, Arlene. 1972. *The Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers Book.* New York: Galahad Books.

Davis, Lawrence M. 1983. *English Dialectology: An Introduction.* University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press.

Dictionary of American Regional English. 1985- . Chief ed. Frederic G. Cassidy. 3 vols. to date. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Dobrow, Julia R., and Calvin L. Gidney. 1998. "The Good, the Bad, and the Foreign: The Use of Dialect in Children's Animated Television." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 557 (May) : 105-119.

Downes, William. 1998. *Language and Society*, 2d edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, Viv. 1986. *Language in a Black Community.* San Diego, Calif.: College-Hill Press.

Eisenson, John. 1966. *The Improvement of Voice and Diction*, 2d edition. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.

Frazer, Timothy C., ed. 1993. *"Heartland" English: Variation and Transition in the American Midwest.* Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press.

Giles, Howard. 1973. "Accent Mobility: A Model and Some Data." *Anthropological Linguistics* 15: 87-105.

Giles, Howard, and P. Smith. 1979. "Accommodation Theory: Optimal Levels of Convergence." In *Language and Social Psychology*, ed. H. Giles and R. St. Clair, 45-65. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Giles, Howard, and Robert St. Clair, eds. 1979. *Language and Social Psychology.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Glowka, A. Wayne, and Donald M. Lance, eds. 1993. *Language Variation in North American English.* New York: Modern Language Association of America.

Görlach, Manfred. 1978. *Einführung ins Frühneuenglische.* Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer.

Gordon, Morton J., and Helene H. Wong, 1961. *A Manual for Speech Improvement.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Graddol, David, Dick Leith, and Joan Swann. 1996. *English History, Diversity and Change.* New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.

Halliwell, Leslie. 1989. *Halliwell's Film Guide.* 7th edition. New York: Harper and Row.

Hartman, James W. 1985. "Guide to Pronunciation." In *Dictionary of American Regional English*, ed. Frederic G. Cassidy. Vol. 1, xli-lxi. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Hobbs, Robert L. 1986. *Teach Yourself Transatlantic: Theatre Speech for Actors.* Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Hughes, A., and Peter Trudgill. 1979. *English Accents and Dialects.* London: Edward Arnold.

Hymes, Dell, ed. 1964. *Language in Culture and Society.* New York: Harper and Row.

Jespersen, Otto. 1982. *Growth and Structure of the English Language.* 10th edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones, Daniel. 1967. *An English Pronouncing Dictionary.* 13th edition. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.

Katz, Ephraim. 1994. *The Film Encyclopedia.* New York: Harper Collins.

Kenyon, John S. 1950. *American Pronunciation.* 10th edition. Ann Arbor: Wahr.

Kenyon, John S., and Thomas A. Knott. 1953. *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English.* Springfield, Mass.: Merriam.

Knowles, Gerry. 1997. *A Cultural History of the English Language.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Kramerae, Cheris. 1982. "Gender: How She Speaks." In *Attitudes towards Language Variation*, ed. E. Ryan and H. Giles, 84-98. London: Edward Arnold.

Krapp, George Philip. 1919. *Pronunciation of Standard English in America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kurath, Hans. 1971. "The Origin of the Dialectal Differences in Spoken American English." In *A Various Language: Perspectives on American Dialects*, ed. J. Williamson and V. Burke, 12-21. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Labov, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

_____. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

_____. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change.* Vol. 1, *Internal Factors.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Lass, R. 1987. *The Shape of English.* London: Dent.

Lass, Abraham, and Betty Lass. 1976. *Dictionary of Pronunciation.* New York: Quadrangle/NY Times Book Co.

Lewis, Norman. 1963. *Dictionary of Modern Pronunciation.* New York: Harper and Row.

Linklater, Kristin. 1976. *Freeing the Natural Voice*. New York: Drama Book Publishers.

Machan, Tim William, and Charles T. Scott, eds. 1992. *English in Its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Marshall, Madeleine. 1953. *The Singer's Manual of English Diction.* New York: Macmillan.

Martin, Jacqueline. 1991. *Voice in Modern Theatre.* New York: Routledge.

McDavid, Raven. 1964. "Postvocalic /r/ in South Carolina: A Social Analysis." In *Language in Culture and Society*, ed. D. Hymes, 473-482. New York: Harper and Row.

McDavid, Raven, and R. O'Cain. 1977. "Southern Standards Revisited." In *Papers in Language Variation*, ed. D. Shores and C. Hines, 229-232. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press.

Mencken, H. L. 1963. *The American Language.* 4th edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Myhill, J. 1988. "Postvocalic /r/ as an Index of Integration into the BEV Speech Community." *American Speech* 63: 203-13.

NBC Handbook of Pronunciation, 3d edition. 1964. Compiled by James F. Bender. New York: Harper and Row. First edition, 1943.

Noory, Samuel. 1965. *Dictionary of Pronunciation*. 2d edition. New York: A.S. Barnes & Co.

Partridge, Eric, and John W. Clark. 1951. *British and American English Since 1900*. New York: Philosophical Library.

Preston, Dennis R. 1982. "Perceptual Dialectology: Mental Maps of United States Dialects from a Hawaiian Perspective." In *Working Papers in Linguistics*, ed. Dennis R. Preston, 14: 5-49. Manoa: University of Hawaii Department of Linguistics.

_____. 1986. "Five Visions of America." *Language in Society* 15: 221-40.

_____. 1993. "Two Heartland Perceptions of Language Variety." In *"Heartland" English: Variation and Transition in the American Midwest*, ed. Timothy C. Frazer, 23-48. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press.

Pyles, Thomas, and John Algeo. 1982. *The Origins and Development of the English Language*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Rodenburg, Patsy. 1993. *The Need for Words: Voice and the Text*. New York: Routledge.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1978. "Post-vocalic /r/ in Scottish English: Sound Change in Progress?" In *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*, ed. P. Trudgill, 144-157. London: Edward Arnold.

_____. 1984. "The Status of Sociological Models and Categories in Explaining Language Variation." *Linguistische Berichte* 90: 25-37.

Rosenbaum, Marcus D., and John Dinges, eds. 1992. *Sound Reporting: The NPR Guide to Radio Journalism and Production*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co.

Sebeok, Thomas A., ed. 1960. *Style in Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Shakespeare, William. 1958. *Hamlet*. Edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia A. LaMar. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Shores, David, and Carole Hines, eds. 1977. *Papers in Language Variation*. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press.

Skinner, Edith. 1990. *Speak with Distinction*. Revised with new material added by Timothy Monich and Lilene Mansell; edited by Lilene Mansell. New York: Applause Theatre Book Publishers.

Sledd, James H. 1993. "Standard English and the Study of Variation." In *Language Variation in North American English*, ed. Wayne A. Glowka and Donald M. Lance, 275-281. New York: Modern Language Association of America.

Stage Door. 1937. RKO. Produced by Pandro S. Berman. With Katharine Hepburn and Ginger Rogers.

Thomas, C. K. 1927. "Recent Discussions of Standardization in American Pronunciation." *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*, 13: 442-57.

Trudgill, Peter, ed. 1978. *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English.* London: Edward Arnold.

_____. 1983. *On Dialect.* New York: New York University Press.

_____. 1986. *Dialects in Contact.* New York: Basil Blackwell.

Van Riper, William R. 1986. "General American: An Ambiguity." In *Dialect and Language Variation,* ed. Harold B. Allen and Michael D. Linn, 123-135. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Wells, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English.* 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkerson, Rose. 1999. "African-American English in Film: Copula Variability." Paper presented at NWAVE 28, Toronto, Canada.

Williams, Joseph M. 1992. "'O! When Degree is Shak'd': Sixteenth-Century Anticipations of Some Modern Attitudes Toward Usage." In *English in Its Social Contexts,* ed. Tim W. Machan and Charles T. Scott, 69-101. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williamson, Juanita V., and Virginia M. Burke, eds. 1971. *A Various Language: Perspectives on American Dialects.* New York: Holt.

Withers-Wilson, Nan. 1993. *Vocal Direction for the Theatre: From Script Analysis to Opening Night.* New York: Drama Book Publishers.

Wolfram, Walt. 1969. *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Wolfram, Walt, and Natalie Schilling-Estes. 1998. *American English.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Wyld, H. 1920. *A History of Modern Colloquial English.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Yorke, Ivor. 1996. *Basic TV Reporting.* Stoneham, Mass.: Focal Press.

Zimmerman, Jane D. 1946. *Radio Pronunciations: A Study of Two Hundred Educated Non-Professional Radio Speakers.* New York: King's Crown Press.

Nancy C. Elliott
1109 Village Square Drive
Ashland, Oregon 97520
(541) 482-7948
nelliott1@earthlink.net

EDUCATION:

Ph.D.	Indiana University, Bloomington	2000	Linguistics
M.A.	University of Kansas, Lawrence	1986	Linguistics
B.A.	University of Kansas, Lawrence	1982	Linguistics and German

RESEARCH AND TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

1992-present Instructor of ESL
American Language Academy, Southern Oregon University, Ashland, Oregon. Courses taught: all ESL skills, History of English, Pronunciation, Ethnic Groups of America.

1989-93 Associate Instructor of Linguistics
Indiana University Department of Linguistics
Courses taught: L103 Introduction to Language, L205 Language and Style.

1989-93 Instructor of ESL
Indiana University Center for English Language Training (CELT)
Courses taught: all ESL skills, Ethnic Groups of America, Native American Prehistory.

1989-90 Research Assistant
Indiana University Department of Linguistics
Assistant for faculty research on Romance cognates of Latin 2nd conjugation verbs.

1989-91 English Tutor
Indiana University Mathematics Department
Tutoring of international math graduate students in English pronunciation.

1986-87 *Gastdozentin* (Visiting Instructor)
Universität Heidelberg, Neuphilologische Fakultät-Zentrales Sprachlabor
Courses taught: Spoken English, Technical English.

1985-86 Instructor of German
University of Kansas Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures
Courses taught: beginning and intensive intermediate German.

1983-86 Instructor of ESL
University of Kansas Applied English Center
Courses taught: all ESL skills.

OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE:

1993-98 Musician, Pronunciation Coach
Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland
Duties: performing live music in plays and concerts; recording music for plays and CDs; coaching singers in historical and modern pronunciation of English and foreign languages (French, Provençal, Nahuatl, German, Latin, Spanish, Italian); translating song texts.

1989-92 Reader and Chief Evaluator
General Equivalency Degree (GED) exam, written component,
Indiana University Bureau of Evaluative Studies & Testing

1991 Musician
Utah Shakespearean Festival, Cedar City, Utah

1980-86 Language Lab Assistant; Head of Programming; Assistant to the Director
University of Kansas Language Laboratories

HONORS AND DISTINCTIONS:

- Fellowship, Indiana University Department of Linguistics, 1987-88
- M.A. Exam passed with honors, University of Kansas, 1986
- Phi Beta Kappa, University of Kansas, 1982
- B.A. with distinction and with honors in linguistics, 1982
- College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Honors Program completed, University of Kansas
- Phi Kappa Phi, University of Kansas, 1981
- Linguistics Department honors award, University of Kansas, 1982
- French and German Department honors awards, University of Kansas, 1979-81

SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP:

- Member, American Dialect Society, 1990-present
- President, Indiana University Linguistics Club (IULC), 1990-92
- Coordinator, IULC Faculty and Visiting Speaker Series, 1992
- Organizer, IULC Phonetics-Phonology Roundtable, 1991
- Member, Linguistics Graduate Students Association, University of Kansas, 1982-86
- Member, Linguistics Colloquy Committee, University of Kansas, 1982

PUBLICATIONS AND CREATIVE WORK:

Renaissance en Provence. 1999. Compact Disc. Troy, NY: Dorian Recordings DOR-90269 (text translation, pronunciation coaching, music performance).

Elliott, Nancy C. 1990. "Historical French Pronunciation Broadside No. 1." Unpublished manuscript for Indiana University Early Music Institute.

Elliott-Hodge, Nancy C. 1986. Vowels *before /r/ in English since 1400.* M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1986.

Elliott, Nancy C. 1986. "Innovative Uses of BBC Foreign Language Series in Kansas." *Time-Life/EMC Newsletter.*

PRESENTATIONS:

Elliott, Nancy C. "Historical English Pronunciation for Singers." Amherst Early Music Workshop, August 1988.

Elliott, Nancy C. "Koinéization in the Development of American English." American Dialect Society Regional Meeting (Midwest MLA), Minneapolis, November 1989 and Indiana University Department of Linguistics Colloquium, October 1989.

Davis, Stuart, Nancy Elliott, and Donna Jo Napoli. "The Demise of the Second Conjugation in Gallo-Romance." Romance Philology Convocation XI, University of California, Irvine, October 1990.

Elliott, Nancy C. "On the Possible Etymologies of *Trobar* and *Troubador*." Indiana University Early Music Institute, 1990.

Elliott, Nancy C. "Historical English Pronunciation, ca. 1600: Workshop for Singers." Indiana University Early Music Institute, 1991.

Elliott, Nancy C. "*You* and *Thou* in *Twelfth Night*: How Shakespeare's Characters Show Their Relationships in Their Pronouns." Utah Shakespearean Festival, Cedar City, UT, August 1991.

Elliott, Nancy C. "The Pronunciation of Consort Songs." Viola da Gamba Society of America Viol-halla, Bloomington, IN, 1992.

LANGUAGES STUDIED:
Classical and Medieval Latin, Old Norse, Old English, Old Saxon, Middle English, Middle High German; Modern German, French, Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Haitian Creole, Ancient Greek, Russian, Irish Gaelic, Japanese, Nahuatl.

OVERSEAS STUDY:
Universität Heidelberg, 1986-87 (English dialectology, history of English, Romance linguistics).